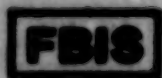


JPRS 75486

14 April 1980

West Europe Report

No. 1585



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

14 April 1980

WEST EUROPE REPORT

No. 1565

CONTENTS

PAGE

COUNTRY SECTION

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Davignon Pleads for Strong European Community (Etienne Davignon; LE SOIR, 27 Feb 80)	1
FRG Physicist Schopper To Head CERN (LE MONDE, 9-10 Mar 80)	5

CANADA

Mark Macguigan Discusses Foreign Policy With 'LE MONDE' (Mark Macguigan Interview; LE MONDE, 30-31 Mar 80)...	7
--	---

DENMARK

Liberal's Chairman Christophersen Attacks Government on Economy (Henning Christophersen; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 3 Feb 80)	9
Jorgensen Is 'Not Good Enough' To Remain Prime Minister (Editorial; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 3 Feb 80).....	13
Jorgensen Defends Policies Against Christophersen Attack (BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 10 Feb 80)	15
Younger Generation of Socialist Ministers Challenge Old Guard (Solveig Rodgaard; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 3 Feb 80)....	20
Socialist Paper Analyzes Party's Internal Split (Solveig Rodgaard; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 15 Feb 80)...	24

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

FRANCE

Extreme Left Wing Reaction to Soviet Afghanistan Aggression (Pierre Veron; EST & OUEST, Feb 80)	27
Extreme Left Wing Organizations, Political Activity in 1979 (Pierre Veron; EST & OUEST, Feb 80)	29
Minor Party Candidates, Parties in 1981 Presidential Election (Bernard Brizay; LE FIGARO, 19 Feb 80)	36
Series Two C-160 Transall Described (Jean Perard; AVIATION MAGAZINE INTERNATIONAL, 1-14 Mar 80)	39

GREECE

Obstacles in Economic Relations With Soviets Reported (HELLENES EXPRESS, 6 Mar 80).....	47
Revised Moneymarket Legislation Prepared (HELLENES EXPRESS, 6 Mar 80)	49
Briefs	
New Petroleum Legislation	50
Fiscal Burden Chain Effect	50
New Royalties Procedure	51

ITALY

Briefs	
Berlinguer Congratulates Ceausescu	52

NORWAY

Labor Party, LO Meet To Resolve Dispute (Various sources, various dates)	53
Nordli: Open Up Both, Odvar Nordli Interview	
Confusion in Labor Movement, by Lennart Hovland	
Joint Meeting Held	
Nordli Discusses Meeting	
Perhaps Party Is Appendage to LO, Editorial	
Party May Disintegrate, Editorial	

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

PORTUGAL

Blanqui Texeira Comments on PCP's Recruitment Drive (Blanqui Texeira Interview; AVANTE, 20 Mar 80).....	63
PCP's Cunhal on Visit to Syria, Lebanon (AVANTE, 20 Mar 80)	66
Briefs Diplomatic Appointments	57

TURKEY

Briefs Grain Silo Construction	68
Government's Capitalistic Policy Criticized	68

DAVIGNON PLEADS FOR STRONG EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Brussels LE SOIR in French 27 Feb 80 pp 1, 7

[Article by Etienne Davignon, Belgian member of the European Commission]

[Text] Is Europe complicated? Sometimes. And to the point of discouraging public opinion, which is nevertheless affected by what happens at the community headquarters, in Brussels, in the European Parliament, in Strasbourg, and in Luxembourg.

Today LE SOIR is beginning a column entitled "Europe." It will appear five times a week on our economic page. It will be devoted to every concrete aspect of European current events: the stakes, everything that affects individuals, and everything that might change their life. In short, it will reflect Europe in motion, not only in its institutions but above all in the daily life of the Old Continent's inhabitants.

The real Europe is also the subject of the carte blanche we have given Etienne Davignon, Belgian member of the EEC Commission.

Aside from the grammatical error, that expression made me think! Europe the paradox! Quite obviously, developments in the European Community affect the daily life of our citizens far beyond what they imagine. The citizens do not yet perceive "European reality." That is a serious thing after 25 years. We must of course begin by openly repenting, because in many cases, the European institutions have sinned by being too technical. For example, we have not clearly told the community's citizens that they can buy an automobile built in any of the nine member countries and that only one certificate of compliance--the European certificate--is required.

In other cases, the very fact of membership in the European Community gives the citizens basic new and unassailable rights which seem to be a matter of course today, but which were obtained in an earlier day as a result of

arduous negotiation. To cite only one example, the European citizen who settles in another member country for professional reasons is entitled to accumulate social security benefits both in his country of origin and in his country of residence. His children have free access to education and so on.

The free movement of persons, the principle of which is written into the European treaties, now extends to several independent professions: doctors and nurses can settle freely in any member country of the European Community.

Even if it is not perceived by the general public, the idea of European citizenship must continue to progress. Symbolic elements such as holding a European passport and drivers license will serve to strengthen that membership in a single community.

In other cases, it is the national authorities who do not try to play up the European contribution. For reasons of national prestige or for electoral reasons, the governments of the Nine do not point out that programs benefiting regions and workers (low-cost housing, trainee programs, unemployment benefits, and so on) are possible only because of European solidarity--that is, by having recourse to the European budget.

Added to the "technical approach" of the "Eurocrats" and the smokescreens employed at the national level is the citizen's failure to understand European action. Young people in particular do not understand why Europe does not concern itself with the problems of most concern to them: educational reform, drugs, and the arms race. Whether on my visits to schools and universities or during meetings at the European Commission, the same questions have been asked of me by young people. For the time being, those matters are not within the purview of the European Community. It is nonetheless obvious that from the standpoint of European union, only reflection in common will make it possible to provide the basic answers that are expected on the national or regional level.

Let me be understood correctly: it is not a matter of smugly preaching Europeanism. But if we want to preserve a minimum of credibility in the eyes of those who will be our political, economic, and social leaders before the end of this century, it will certainly be necessary for Europe as such to come to grips with those problems. There is a great danger that in his attitude toward Europe, the citizen, regardless of his political opinions, will retain both his relative weariness with national political problems and his skepticism toward any new initiative.

And let no one tell me that some issues will remain taboo at the European level! It was not too long ago that diplomacy was considered strictly a national matter. But as time went on, the community countries established a special procedure for discussing the major issues of international politics, calling it "political cooperation." But to satisfy the most timid, it had to be set up as a procedure outside the scope of the treaties. To carry the demonstration of that to the point of absurdity, it was not very long

ago at all that the diplomatic leaders of the Nine would meet on Monday morning in Dublin, Copenhagen, or Rome to discuss international politics and then find themselves around the same table in Brussels in the afternoon for the meeting by the EEC Council of Ministers. The principles were preserved, but at the expense of the European taxpayer. Nowadays the sessions devoted to political cooperation as such--unless held in the presence of the chairman of the European Commission--are often held directly during sessions by the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

Common sense eventually won out. But that is not enough. Public opinion has not heard Europe's voice during the current crisis caused by the events in Afghanistan. And it is justifiably concerned by that fact. Europe must progress if we want to insure our decision-making autonomy. It will not do so if the citizens are left out of the debate. Success or failure will depend basically on two things: first, it is essential that the European Parliament stimulate public debate, and second, the European Commission must fully assume its political role.

Parliament first of all! Its role is basic because without it there is no possible recourse against a degree of paralysis in the European institutional system. If there are in fact only two interlocutors on the European political stage--the Council of Ministers and the commission--discussion can bog down and the citizens may never know what they are being deprived of.

Even if its powers are officially limited, it has turned out that the European Parliament elected by universal suffrage has thrown itself into the debate. When Parliament feels that a certain number of actions are necessary on the European level and that new means are needed for putting them into effect, it will not be content with the council's silence regarding proposals by the European Commission.

On the contrary, it will do everything to revive the debate. Parliament saved the social side of the steel plan--that is, it insured assistance for the citizen. Parliament permitted Mrs Veil to make Europe's voice heard in Washington with clarity, skill, and moderation.

And what is the European Commission's role in all this? To affirm that the commission's role is basic and not a matter of corporatism or self-satisfaction! We are forced to note that for about 15 years no large-scale action or strategy on the European level has been adopted without prior consideration by the European Commission.

Can we not dispense with the rearguard fighting and sterile ideological quarrels? No one considers the possibility of transferring all national powers to the European level, seeing that the citizen wants his government closer to home. Centralism is an outdated concept. But at the same time, the size of the problems requires that national or regional action fit into a strategy defined at the European level.

The commission has a triple role. First, it must present programs of common interest. Second, it must indicate clearly what is at stake in the European strategy. And third, it must, above all, assert itself as a politically responsible institution rather than a timid secretariat that simply notes the common denominators between national theses.

The commission's role is to define priority actions which, without being modeled exactly on the actions of the member states, do take national realities into account. One might ask whether it would not be enough, therefore, simply to have a coordination of national policies. But the answer is no. One must remember what is meant by the very idea of a community. It is too often forgotten that the European Community born of the treaties of Paris and Rome constitutes a political, juridical, and institutional substitution that gave rise to an authority independent of that of the participating states. And one essential element of the European Commission's political role is that of administration--the daily implementation of priorities appearing on the European level. Once a decision in principle has been adopted, it is essential that there be a delegation of power for administering that policy. Only the commission is in a position to act as a constant for administering, developing, and insuring the correctness of that policy.

The independent authority belonging to the European Community must be that of implementing clearly defined priorities in order to achieve objectives that the states can no longer achieve separately. The struggle to master the energy crisis, stimulation of the economy, the defense of our interests in relation to third countries, the definition of a new relationship with developing countries, the correction of regional imbalances, and the establishment of a society in which the individual will be well integrated: those are the challenges. Are the national states still able to meet those challenges? There is reason to doubt it. It is up to Europe to show that it can meet them. And Europe is you and me. Let us not forget it.

11798
CSO: 3100

FRG PHYSICIST SCHOPPER TO HEAD CERN

Paris LE MONDE in French 9-10 Mar 80 p 10

[Article by M. A.: "German Physicist Herwig Schopper will head the CERN [European Center for the Organization of Nuclear Research] From 1981 to 1985"]

[Text] Born on 28 February 1924 in Landskron (Czechoslovakia), Herwig Schopper is today a citizen of FRG. In 1949 he graduated from the University of Hamburg where he has been teaching since 1973. Previously he was a research associate at the CERN and, subsequently, head of the department of particle physics.

The European Council for the Organization of Nuclear Research (CERN) has appointed its next director general. He will be Herwig Schopper, professor at the University of Hamburg and president of the physics of particles directory of the Desy accelerator also located in Hamburg. Schopper will assume his position at the start of 1981 as the successor of the two current directors general of the CERN, John Adams and Leon van Hove. His appointment is for a five-year term.

The appointment was made on 29 February, at a meeting of the committee in charge of preparing the council's meetings. Summoned at the request of the Italian delegate, the committee examined the plan for the future electron-positron collision ring--LEP; he acknowledged that the LEP should be granted absolute priority among the European projects for accelerators and that it should be built as rapidly as possible: A work group will be set up to study without delay related juridical and financial problems.

This agreement made it possible to eliminate the Italian reservations concerning the nomination of Prof Schopper, making it unanimous by the representatives of the 12 CERN-member countries.

Schopper's appointment could have been made last November, when a vote showed an overwhelming majority in his favor over the other candidate, Italian physicist Antonino Zichichi. Actually, the balloting was not closed in order to spare Italian feelings. At that time Italy was opposing its European partners in a number of multinational agencies (Euratom, the European Space Agency, and the Eurodif Company which is building in Tricastin a uranium concentration plant, and was displaying a bad mood, partly due to domestic political reasons and personality conflicts. In the case of the CERN the Italian reticence, which could have been ignored, a unanimous vote not being required, also had to do with a basic question: Italy feared that the nomination of a German director may not be a good token for the building of the LEP. The latter is an instrument of a type of physics which does not currently take place in the CERN facilities in Geneva but is located, precisely, in Hamburg, where a collision ring of the same type as the LEP, but of a lower energy level, the PETRA, is in operation, as well as in Stanford, California, where the PEP ring, quite similar to the PETRA, is currently being commissioned.

Fearing that the nomination of a German director general of the CERN might lead the FRG to block the LEP project, the Italian delegation would have liked to relate the nomination of the director to a firm decision to be passed on the LEP--a decision difficult to make at the current stage of the studies. Hence the decision of the council not to close the balloting and to undertake the type of informal negotiations which resulted in a general agreement.

5157

CSO: 3100

MARK MACGUIGAN DISCUSSES FOREIGN POLICY WITH 'LE MONDE'

LD020753 Paris LE MONDE in French 30-31 Mar 80 p 2 LD

[Interview with Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Mark Macguigan by Dominique Dhombres: "Like France, We Are a Kind of Bridge Between East and West"; time and place not specified]

[Excerpt] [Question] It is to France that you have paid your visit abroad since you were appointed Canadian secretary of state for external affairs-- your first ministerial post--by Mr Trudeau 3 weeks ago. Was the main purpose of your visit to establish contacts with French leaders, especially Mr Jean Francois-Poncet, or to participate in the meeting of the Technical and Cultural Cooperation Agency which took place in Paris from 25 through 27 March?

[Answer] Both these things in fact. My main objective was to meet Mr Francois-Poncet but I also wanted to show that Canada is interested in the agency and its future.

[Question] It appears that it is possible to foresee some changes in Canadian diplomacy following Mr Trudeau's resumption of power, compared with the clearly pro-American stance adopted by Mr Clark's conservative government. In particular, what is Canada's present attitude toward the question of boycotting the Olympic games in Moscow?

[Answer] Our attitude is rather similar to that of France.... We will keep our options open until the end of April. New developments have been taking place continuously and we want to have enough time to study them. However, we intend to adopt a firm attitude. We are waiting for the emergence of a consensus, if possible, among Western and Third World countries.

[Question] Did the statements made by Mr Trudeau on the evening following his election victory in which he referred to Canada's geopolitical situation between the two superpowers and to the greater commitments which it has to detente than some other countries (that is, in plain language, the United States) signify a convergence with Paris?

[Answer] Like France, we are a kind of bridge between East and West. We can also serve as intermediaries between the United States and other members of the Atlantic alliance. And, finally, we can be a bridge between the Third World and the United States. We are very close to the United States but we are independent not only politically but through conviction.

Arms Expenditure

[Question] Will you adopt a more restrictive attitude toward American investments as your Trade and Industry Minister Herbert Gray seems to want you to do?

[Answer] I am for Canada's economic independence and this is why I want to emphasize the importance of our relations with West Europe and the Third World. There are a number of problems between the United States and ourselves, especially in the sphere of oil and natural gas. However, our problems with the Americans, who are our friends, have always been negotiable. I am to meet with Mr Cyrus Vance at the end of April....

[Question] In particular, what is the position with respect to the gas pipeline which was to cross Canadian territory to bring natural gas from Alaska to the United States?

[Answer] We want to receive a firm guarantee that the United States is determined to complete construction of the gas pipeline before we agree to participate in this project. The Americans want to begin with the southern section and we with the northern section....

[Question] In view of the present international tension, does Canada envisage the possibility of increasing its arms budget?

[Answer] Some 3 or 4 years ago we decided to increase this budget 3 percent per annum in real terms (that is, taking inflation into account). This has remained our objective. For instance, this implies the purchase of new aircraft. We have to choose between two American aircraft--the General Dynamics aircraft and the MacDonnell Douglas aircraft.

[Question] What are your views on Mr Giscard d'Estaing's statements on the Palestinians' right to self-determination?

[Answer] This is a very important initiative but we have not yet adopted any attitude toward it. A guarantee for the borders of Israel--an independent state recognized by the United Nations--is our main principle as far as the Near East is concerned.

[Question] Will France one day be able to purchase any uranium extracted from the Saskatchewan mines in whose development French capital has participated?

[Answer] We can achieve a compromise on this problem. We respect West European countries' desire for nuclear energy independence on the one hand but we insist on the nonproliferation principle on the other hand. We must obtain guarantees that this ore will be used for peaceful purposes. So far we have received none.

LIBERALS' CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHERSEN ATTACKS GOVERNMENT ON ECONOMY

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 3 Feb 80 p 12

[Article by Henning Christophersen: "100 Days' Run Toward the Abyss"]

[Text] The Liberals' chairman puts a question mark by the government's credibility and ability to lead the political work.

The first 100 days of the Social Democratic minority government has drawn a clear picture not only of the government's policy but also of its credibility and its ability to lead the country competently in a difficult situation. The picture gives no cause for optimism. On the contrary. The government's political initiatives have hitherto only been able to create discouragement and uncertainty, and the political conflicts have been deepened. This course of events more and more strongly raises the question of what can be put in its place.

December Did Not Change the Trend

The government's ambitious moves in December were supposed to change the economic trend for the better, but today almost everybody admits that the movement toward the much-talked-of economic abyss is continuing. It is true that there was a temporary restriction of the automatic cost-of-living adjustment, but in compensation the signal was given for an increased wage escalation in almost all sectors. At the same time a number of tax increases were put through which strike exclusively at the ability and willingness to invest. The increase in the welfare taxes and the property tax, the introduction of a special tax on agriculture, and the abolition of the special investment deduction had the almost instantaneous effect that in all industries investment plans were put in mothballs. The combination of continued cost increases and fewer investments will combine with the new increases in energy costs that come to us from abroad. The result will inevitably be a larger balance-of-payments deficit and greater unemployment in 1980.

Redistribution First, Savings Later

Instead of putting through a real cost-reducing policy that could have given impetus to exports, production, and investments, the government chose to put the main stress on a piece of Social Democratic distribution policy with all the negative effects that it entails.

It tried in the same round to push through the ØD [economic democracy] proposals of the LO [Danish Federation of Trade Unions] and the Social Democratic Party. That did not succeed, but it emphasized that the government consciously desires to use the economic difficulties to push bills through that can socialize the Danish economy.

What the government took lightly, on the other hand, was the obligation it had assumed of effecting savings of 2.5 billion kroner. These have been postponed for the time being, and to date no bills for that purpose have been introduced into the Folketing. The result, naturally enough, is that the finance act adopted before Christmas must already be regarded as unrealistic today.

Since the beginning of the year a continuing, unfinished debate has been carried on concerning the economic situation. The members of the government have participated in it, but not in any flattering way. The taxation minister's unsuccessful efforts to force the first director of the National Bank to keep silent were followed by other ministers' efforts to reassure the public with statements that new measures were under consideration, but thus far they have not been able to explain when and how they intend to deal with the ominous trend.

Unrealistic Moves

This uncertain political line has been underscored by other facts. In the field of security policy the government came under grave doubt as early as the end of November in connection with the debate on modernization of the tactical atomic weapons in Europe, and since the first of the year we have seen an unrealistic move toward a new defense compromise. It does not strengthen the other NATO nations' confidence in Denmark that in a difficult international situation we hesitate to show our solidarity with the Atlantic alliance and hesitate to spend what is needed if our defense is to maintain its credibility.

The developments in the energy debate in the last few weeks have the same tinge of unreality about them. Several years' energy policy planning seems to have been turned upside down by a chain of fortuitous decisions in the governing party. But it seems difficult to find out whether any decisions have been reached at all, or whether it is merely the prime minister that has changed his mind and then forced the rest of the government to accept the fact that the use of nuclear power must obviously be postponed for an indefinite period of time.

There is reason to point out these features, because they underscore another essential factor in the appraisal of the government's work. Its

policy is not solving our problems. But its way of governing is also open to criticism in itself. What does the government really want in the essential fields? How are its decisions reached? Whom does it want to collaborate with? Such are some of the questions the rest of us wonder about and ask each other.

Irresolution and Indecision

The impression of irresolution and indecision is reinforced by the government's peculiar attitude toward agreements entered into previously. There is nobody in the Folketing that will deny that the course of events can move away from an agreement and make it necessary for it to be changed. But it is equally true that agreements once entered into are not to be altered unilaterally. If that were recognized, agreements could never be reached between parties or between a government and its opposition.

Nevertheless, that is the direction in which we are moving. Since it took office the Social Democratic minority government has unilaterally altered the defense compromise, the housing compromise, the agreements on energy policy, the agreement on extending the special personal deduction, the agreement on extending the investment deduction, and the agreement on the administration of the frozen cost-of-living allowances.

Unsatisfied Demands for Responsibility

Against the background of all this the question inevitably rises of the government's credibility, of its ability to lead the political work, and its desire to follow a responsible policy. The answer must inevitably be that the government has not lived up to these decisive demands. The next question is necessarily what can be put in its place.

In relation to the outside world we need to emphasize our membership relationship to NATO and our will to maintain the credibility of our defense.

Domestically, we need a policy that generates confidence and optimism. We must concede today that the income policy in the form it has had up to now has not got great prospects in its favor for the immediate future. But that does not alter the fact that we need to moderate rising costs where possible. Greater responsibility must be laid upon the parties in the labor market [i.e., capital and labor], so that the coming [wage] agreement negotiations will lead to a responsible result. Not merely public economies must be put through, but a real reform in expenditures which will change a large number of the mechanisms of the welfare state. We need to underscore the principle of help to self-help in the social system. We need changes in unemployment support and the sick-pay system, so that it will become clear that it makes a difference whether a man makes a productive contribution or not. We need to limit the application of the gratis principle. And we need greater freedom for the counties and municipalities to decide whether they will burden their taxpayers with new expenditures or not.

State Control Must Be Reduced

This spending reform is necessary because we need to change some important attitudes in our society. But it is also necessary because only a limitation of public spending can make it possible to limit or eliminate a number of taxes that operate against saving and investment. The reform should be of such scope that it can make it possible to scale down the income tax pressure, to the benefit of willingness to work and to invest.

We also need to get rid of a number of the restrictions and regulations that now restrain the economy's potential for growth and impede the free mobility of labor. Unreasonable price interventions, trade union restrictions, overdimensioned planning adventures, and state attempts to control investments must be replaced with greater freedom to choose a job, to run a risk, to take a chance. Free competition must be emphasized as a main principle of our economic policy. And so must personal freedom and personal responsibility as basic principles of our society as a whole.

Duties of the Opposition

The opposition must feel it an obligation to present this policy just now, when the Social Democratic Party has clearly chosen to move away from the center. At the same time the situation gives the opposition an obligation to cooperate on those points where it is possible. Fortunately, they are not so very few. The above-mentioned principles for an alternative policy are the Liberals' principles, but undoubtedly other parties also profess those principles. That circumstance means that not only is there another way than the government's, but there is also an alternative in the political sense for the time when a change of government becomes possible. That may be sooner than most people thought 100 days ago.

8815

CSO: 3106

JØRGENSEN IS 'NOT GOOD ENOUGH' TO REMAIN PRIME MINISTER

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 3 Feb 80 p 12

[Editorial: "The Necessary Word"]

[Text] BERLINGSKE TIDENDE holds the view that the prime minister of Denmark is not good enough. Let this be written with due respect for the high office and for the burden that goes with the responsibility. And let it be written with unstinted acknowledgement of the difficulties that are a result of the economic crisis and the problem-filled parliamentary situation. It is not hard to express sympathy for Anker Jørgensen, and neither is it hard to muster understanding for the situation he is in. There is no lack of appreciation of the prime minister's good will, and it is not necessary to use compulsion to understand the scope of the problems that are his. But there are situations in which neither sympathy nor understanding can lead to indulgence. There are situations that call for saying things right out, sternly. Denmark has arrived at such a moment.

It is necessary to say that the prime minister is not good enough. He is not good enough as leader of a government. He is not good enough as leader of a party. And he is not good enough as the one who is to stand at the head of the parliamentary activity. Neither sympathy for the good will nor recognition of the magnitude of the problems can be an explanation or excuse for Anker Jørgensen's having failed in three respects. As head of the government he has not been able to avert a constant uneasiness about the daily activity of the ministry--most recently concentrated on the government's position on the energy problems and the--to put it mildly--unfortunate attitude of the minister of taxation toward the public. As party leader he has not been in a position to prevent oppositions within its own ranks from giving the general population the impression of a party chairman who does not know himself what he wants, but is the victim of internal revolts. And with regard to parliamentary work he has been incapable of standing out as negotiator of a collaboration. There is a bigger split in the Folketing than before the election. A long series of facts and events provides the basis for the assertion that Anker Jørgensen has failed.

Some will assert that this is an unreasonably harsh judgment and will try to explain and especially to explain away. And many will be sorry for the political tragedy that seems to be attaching itself to Anker Jørgensen's person. But the economic crisis leaves no time to cover up the facts or to minimize the extent of the personal responsibility. And if anybody wonders with what right BERLINGSKE TIDENDE is speaking out so inconsiderately, the answer is the situation in which the public now finds itself. Nobody can any longer help seeing the truth that is attested by the facts. And more and more it is the public that knows that.

8815

CSO: 3106

JØRGENSEN DEFENDS POLICIES AGAINST CHRISTOPHERSEN ATTACK

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 10 Feb 80 p 12

[Text] In an article in the BERLINGSKE TIDENDE for Sunday 3 February the Liberals' leader, former foreign minister Henning Christophersen, wrote off the government's credibility and its ability to lead the country competently in a difficult situation. A very large question mark was also set against the government's will to pursue a responsible policy.

The background for these statements includes in particular the December legislation and the economic policy as a whole.

It may seem surprising that Henning Christophersen can reach those results precisely with the December legislation as a background. We may disagree about the specific content, but nobody can be in doubt about the fact that the measures that we introduced in December were of such a nature as would naturally be bound to encounter great misgivings on principle within the government. Nevertheless, it was possible to overcome the misgivings, and Henning Christophersen knows that it was the first time it had been possible. The measures stand as a very strong expression of the will of the government and the Social Democratic Party to pursue a responsible policy.

It also seems to me that the Liberals' leader should be cautious in talking about lack of ability to lead the country in a competent manner. The Liberals tried twice, when they were in a government position, to direct the income policy. One of the times was in December 1974, when Hartling's measures did not result in political leadership, but in a real collapse. The other time was in 1970, when the VKR [Liberal-Conservatives-Radical Liberals] government offered to negotiate about the cost-of-living allowances. The only thing they managed to get through the Folketing was a temporary so-called cost-reducing grant--and that in spite of the fact that at that time the three governing parties had a solid majority in the Folketing.

Strongest Measure Thus Far

Against that background it takes a lot of nerve to depreciate the fact that a Social Democratic minority government in a divided Folketing and

with a couple of unwilling opposition parties managed to put through the strongest and most far-reaching income policy measure that has ever been passed in this country. Henning Christophersen should also remember that in the spring of 1979 we worked out a compromise solution together as a government. It was characterized by the Liberals as the greatest income policy measure to date, and then in December we presented our bill, and we said frankly and honestly:

This will involve a general decline in real income of 5 percent. (With the additional price increases that came to us from abroad, it works out to about 6 to 6.5 percent.) What government has ever done that before? Unfortunately, we must admit that a majority in the Folketing would not go along with creating the distribution policy conditions necessary for it to be reasonable and defensible to carry out the proposals in their full force. We regret that perhaps more than most, but still the whole package was stronger than had been seen before.

Damaging Campaign

Henning Christophersen speaks a little condescendingly about a piece of Social Democratic distribution policy. That is an unreasonable way to talk. The real thing, the thing that counts, is that we are taking away from the wage-earner some cost-of-living allowances that, according to the prevailing agreements, it was his crystal-clear right to have paid to him. Altogether this involves three cost-of-living allowances that would be due after the January price index calculation. It involves the effect on the price index of revaluations of the krone. And it applies to future effects of the energy price rises on the price index. This is all true and necessary, but to the Social Democratic Party it is not an ideal distribution policy. So to even it up a little we put through a tightening up of corporate taxes and taxes on large fortunes and a tightening up on some of the possible deductions, especially in areas where we had observed their being made use of in unintended ways.

But Henning Christophersen--and with him other bourgeois politicians and, unfortunately, some organizations as well--choose to complain about these modest contributions from industry and to keep quiet about or trivialize the importance of the cost reduction that is effected through cutbacks in wages. That is not reasonable--and I am afraid this campaign will really hurt the economy they are representing themselves as being spokesmen for.

The measures are not a fixed ceiling on wages. That would be unrealistic. But it is hardly too high an estimate that the firms will get out of four or five of the cost-of-living allowances that they would have been obliged to pay if it had not been for those measures. That means a saving of 5,000 to 6,000 kroner per man-year, or at least 5 to 6 billion kroner for the economy as a whole. The amount the firms save in this way is many times as great as the tax increases that were passed. There is thus a question of a very significant reduction in the firms' costs, if we take the measures as a whole.

Lastly, Henning Christophersen says that at the same time the signal was given for an increased wage escalation in almost all fields. It is true that a situation with such a significant real wage reduction can intensify wage demands, that is one of the reasons that there are bounds to how big a real wage reduction can be put through advantageously at one time. But the way was not cleared for a great escalation of wages. The price legislation is intended to put a damper on. But there are also grounds for saying that even if the paragraphs concerning raises and the like were applied, they do not grant a right to general or massive wage increases.

But it is true that the December measures do not in themselves solve our balance of payments problems. We must also face the fact that new energy price increases have come in since that, so to speak, swallow up part of what was achieved by the December legislation.

Tightening Up After March

We have not concealed the fact that more would be built upon the December foundation. I said that clearly when we presented our bill on 4 December, and I repeated it on 21 December when the bill was passed.

There is need to continue the cost-restraining policy over the coming years as well, and there will be need for a tightening up of economic policy in the course of 1980.

We shall get a new appraisal of the situation on the basis of the December measures and the later development from the Economic Secretariat at the end of March. Then we can judge what is needed, and the government will act accordingly.

In the meantime there is no doubt that one important element in a long-range economic policy will be a considerable tightening up of the public grants policy. The government is making preparations for that.

But if that is the case, we shall also be forced to take a very hard line in all fields. We shall be forced to take a hard look at all other public expenditures. We must tell the people that they must adapt themselves to a continued decline in the standard of living. Regardless of that, the government will introduce for debate a proposal that includes an unchanged economic framework for expansion of the armed forces.

I am in agreement with Henning Christophersen that it is important for Danish defense policy to continue to be credible. I believe that it is now and that it will continue to be so with unchanged limits. For we are not proposing merely to continue on the present basis. We are proposing at the same time that a new defense system be carried out that will ensure cohesion between the armed forces' missions, strength, and materiel, so that we will achieve the greatest possible defense effect with the same funds.

We continue to attach weight to getting a broad majority on defense. But it is decisive that this must be done within an assessment of the economic possibilities that the Social Democratic Party can find defensible.

In appraising the problems it is, of course, impossible to ignore the events in Afghanistan. There it is a matter of a definite aggression, which can cause further uneasiness about the Middle Eastern powder keg and create doubt about the sincerity of the Soviet Union's desire for détente. But on the other hand we must be careful not to overreact in the Western World. We must continue to try to make use of every realistic possibility of détente--even though it has become harder.

Sports and Politics

In that connection one may well say that a boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow is a peaceful way to show ones opinion. But I believe it is best for us to try as far as possible to keep sports and politics separate--even if it is hard.

I really thought the Liberals and the Conservatives had the same attitude. They have expressed the view that sports should not be used as a means of applying political pressure. Now they seem to advocate our at least recommending to the sports people that they boycott the Olympics. It seems to me we should give them information about the situation--as the government has done--and leave them free to make their decision themselves.

Energy Plan Not Turned Upside Down

Lastly, Henning Christophersen writes that the developments in the energy debate in the last few weeks have the same tinge of unreality about them. Several years' energy policy planning seems to have been turned upside down by a chain of fortuitous decisions in the governing party.

He must know that is not a reasonable statement. In the Social Democratic Party we have always attached decisive weight to a defensible solution of the safety problems before making a final decision on nuclear power. The advantages we can gain from nuclear power plants can easily be outweighed if we run a risk in their operation or in storing the wastes. Nor can it be sensible to build nuclear power plants if a majority of the population view that with suspicion and anxiety. Therefore, it is quite decisive for us to be able to go before the people and say with a good conscience: Now the security is taken care of.

No Atomic Power Plants in 1990

As late as August of last year we in the SV [Social Democratic and Liberal] government were agreed that the security was not satisfactory. For that reason we adopted a declaration about our prerequisites for introduction of nuclear power. Nothing has happened in the meantime to make our position more positive. For some time we have been weighing the situation in the government, and we have reached the conclusion that the most correct thing was to make it clear that we no longer consider it likely that

the necessary security can be achieved so quickly that we can reach a positive decision in 1981. There would have been grounds for criticism if we had waited much longer to make that statement.

The decision is thus founded on serious considerations and not on random influences of one kind or another in connection with the group meeting at which it was announced. Such an assertion is pure hot air.

This does not mean that the previous energy policy has been upset. Nor does it mean--as Henning Christopher seems to think--that the previous energy planning has been turned upside down. But it does mean that we will not have a nuclear power plant by 1990, when it could have supplied 3 percent of our total energy consumption. The circumstance that we shall now build a coal power plant that can undertake the supplying of that 3 percent is not synonymous with a total reversal of our energy policy. To say such a thing is a distortion of the orders of magnitude.

Pessimism and Press

I shall be the last to complain of objective and well-founded criticism directed toward the government and its policy. But excessive criticism based on distortion of facts and relationships may well, in the present situation, do harm to interests that we must all be interested in protecting. We shall not profit from the development if we add to the pessimism among the people and in industry that has some basis in international developments but that we should try to overcome in spite of all difficulties. And of course nobody will be the gainer if a distorted version of the facts and problems by the dominant bourgeois press finds its way to foreign commentators.

8815

CSO: 3106

YOUNGER GENERATION OF SOCIALIST MINISTERS CHALLENGE OLD GUARD

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 3 Feb 80 pt II p 3

[Article by Solveig Rødsgaard: "The Government Without Advisers"]

[Text] The generation problems in the Social Democratic Party have arisen at a time that may well be 5 to 10 years before the change of generations. The two main reasons--according to experienced people in the party--are that the prime minister is not on a confidential footing with his ministers, and that the recipe for a Social Democratic government: a few women, a little experience, and a suitable number of younger people, must necessarily also include internal hatchfulness. Erling Dinesen was prominent in the Krag government, and like Per Hækkerup until his death, looked after Anker Jørgensen. Per Hækkerup has proved irreplaceable, especially as the two natural heirs have respectively left the cabinet and lost all influence.

The government's surprising decision to postpone the decision on nuclear energy again is considered as a feather in the cap of the left wing of the Social Democratic Party. But it is also a sign of a generation shift in the party's Folketing group and the government. The consequence of the shift showed up especially after the last parliamentary election, and may soon create problems for the government. Experienced Social Democrats make no secret of the fact that they miss the advice of earlier times, when those experienced in political maneuvers let themselves go further with the more inexperienced.

"It would never have happened in Per Hækkerup's time" is a theme that recurs continually. The situation has not been improved by the fact that the other political heavyweight, Knud Heinesen, has now been put in the position of chairman of the Social Democratic Folketing group. A job that does not enable him to be ready with advice and action when the younger ministers are about to get out on thin ice.

That is why, since the government took office in October, we have had a Karl Hjortnæs in almost constant political rough weather, a Svend Auken in trouble both with his own people and with the LO [Danish Federation of Trade Unions] over a security reform, and a Poul Nielson who is noted even among his fellow group members for "an unusual tendency to be arrogant," to use one of the milder expressions for it.

The Ministers

Per Hækkerup--much to the surprise of some members of the government--soon proved to be an irreplaceable loss to the government. Others who might have been credited with talents for guidance cannot replace Per Hækkerup.

Jens Risgaard Knudsen, for many years chairman of the Folketing group and now traffic minister, used to do a sort of political watchdog job in collaboration with Per Hækkerup. It is not that way any longer. And Jens Risgaard Knudsen has experienced the paradox that a man that becomes a minister loses his influence.

To this must be added that Jens Risgaard Knudsen, as is being said somewhat maliciously, "is now concerned only with one person, and that is himself."

Ivar Nørgaard has been in various governments since 1965. But "nature's happy child," as he is called, lacks the long-range political grasp that is characteristic of advisers at the government level.

Erling Jensen, 60 years old and a trade union man for many years, is an undisputed talent as administrator and is known for being good terms with almost everybody in spite of his shifting ministerial posts. In the past he has been not uninterested in being put forward as a candidate for prime minister, but today he has no advisory function in the government. Nor can the term adviser be applied to the other experienced ministers: Kjeld Olesen, Niels Matthiasen, Poul Dalsager, Jørgen Peder Hansen, and Poul Søgaard.

Anker Jørgensen's Rôle

The lack of advice in the government is a problem in itself. But another thing that creates problems for the government, according to several Social Democrats, is that Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen is almost never on a confidential footing with his ministers. Per Hækkerup talked with his colleagues. He kept an eye on whether people were getting into something they could not handle. Example: Karl Hjortnæs, who was allowed to go ahead with his National Bank director statements, a thing that would not have happened in Per Hækkerup's time. Both internally within the party and externally in the Folketing in collaboration with other parties it is noticed that Anker Jørgensen prefers to be alone at the wheel.

"There is a need for people with experience as advisers. Abysses are to be found not only in the economy, but also in parliamentary work," says Erik Ninn-Hansen, the Nestor of the Folketing in terms of seniority, a Conservative and former minister. He adds:

"The Social Democratic tradition of having an adviser is evidently a thing of the past. Vilh. Buhl advised Hedtoft. H.C. Hansen had Kai Lindberg and others as confidants. Jens Otto Krag had Erling Dinesen and later Per Hækkerup. It can be clearly seen in the Folketing work that Anker Jørgensen is driving himself after having lost his most important adviser, Per Hækkerup."

Solitaire

One of the advisory problems arises from the fact that putting a government together is a game of solitaire that is hard to get to come out. Whether you like the recipe or not, it goes like this: a few women, a little experience, and a suitable number of younger people.

Still another element is mentioned by a former Social Democratic minister, who says that it is obvious that putting the present government together was harder than usual, because other things had to be taken into consideration: "Some had to be in it because they are important. Others had to be included because they are dangerous to have outside. To the latter group belong Risgaard Knudsen, Karl Hjortnæs, Svend Auken, and Ritt Bjerregaard."

For even though Ritt Bjerregaard maintained a low profile and was hard-working and loyal in the [Folketing] group after she left office as minister of education, many think that she could not have kept herself in the background if she had been passed over as a minister this time.

Succession

The question of Ritt Bjerregaard leads directly to the somewhat painful but timely problem of the succession in the Social Democratic Party. Today there is only one successor if Anker Jørgensen should decide to go, namely Knud Heinesen. No doubt about it. But if the succession does not come about until, say, 5 or at most 10 years from now, 3 leading candidates can be seen now: Ritt Bjerregaard, 38; Svend Auken, 36; and Sven Jakobsen, 44.

That is, mind you, if the first two keep their ambition and if the third gets enough ambition and acknowledges that politics is playing the biggest rôle in his life. Right now Svend Jakobsen takes the same view as Knud Heinesen: politics should not be his whole life.

Svend Jakobsen

It was Anker Jørgensen that put Svend Jakobsen in the government as housing minister in 1973. But it was Knud Heinesen that trained him, and it was Knud Heinesen that wanted him put in the position of finance minister that he himself left in October.

According to many, the academic and technocrat Knud Heinesen has a weakness for Svend Jakobsen because he is one of the last in the government that is recognized as having the traditional Social Democratic origins: one of a large family growing up in a modest farm hand's house, 7 years in public school, farm hand, now finance minister.

The close collaboration between Svend Jakobsen and Knud Heinesen is still going on. There is no doubt today but that if Knud Heinesen, contrary to expectations, should not return to a ministerial post and so become the government's adviser, in a few years Svend Jakobsen will be ready to take on big responsibilities.

Ritt Bjerregaard

While in the Social Democratic Party Svend Jakobsen is regarded as crown prince, in other Social Democratic circles and among opposition politicians there is another view: the heir apparent is a crown princess and her name is Ritt Bjerregaard. Her ambition is unconcealed. She is a loner in the government and in the Social Democratic Party and in general. If Anker Jørgensen's dismissal of her as minister of education after the controversial Paris tour has done any damage to anybody, at any rate it has done none to her.

Ritt Bjerregaard is tremendously hard-working. She knows her job, and her family life--no children--puts no obstacles in the way of her concentrated political development. Some say that her ambition is so great that she will not have the patience to wait for a natural succession, but will try to bring about a shift prematurely, if necessary by an open showdown.

Svend Auken

Neither is there any doubt about Svend Auken's ambition. He is mature after a few years in the Ministry of Labor, even though he is continually running into problems of his own making. "But he has got such a good head on him that he can save himself quick as lightning by getting people to talk about something else without their even being aware that they have been switched off the track."

Political opponents also emphasize that Auken is "immensely gifted." They add that "he is good at giving the impression of being a little restless, somewhat undergraduate-like, a little nervous and impetuous."

Sven Auken and his wife, the writer Bettina Heltberg, now have four children. But Bettina Heltberg has never concealed the fact that her husband has not been extremely handy around the house. In an article in POLITIKEN in November--a few months after the birth of their fourth child--she wrote with humorous irony that it was a long time before Sven Auken could remember whether the youngest was a girl or a boy.

The three possible successors all got into the Folketing in the September 1971 election. But their ways parted. Ritt Bjerregaard and Svend Jakobsen both became ministers in 1973. Svend Auken, on the other hand, had to detour through the Folketing, and went by way of the deputy chairman's and chairman's posts there to the Ministry of Labor in October 1977 as top leader.

In addition, for a time Svend Auken had an important position as chairman of the Folketing committee on the labor market. And it may be that the work that was more or less forced on Svend Auken as an ordinary member of the Folketing may prove to be his most important asset in the struggle to stay at the top of the Social Democratic Party.

SOCIALIST PAPER ANALYZES PARTY'S INTERNAL SPLIT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 15 Feb 80 pt II p 3

[Article by Solveig Rødgaard: "Social Democratic Party Against Itself"]

[Text] The internal crisis in the party is now recognized so openly that even party members are coming forward with proposals for solving the problems, and AKTUELT, the organ of the trade union movement, has taken the Social Democratic Party's situation up for closer analysis.

The Social Democratic Party's internal crisis and lack of power to act are now recognized so openly that the government is getting good advice from members of the party. Advice not to ignore criticism from the outside. "A government should be seen as a catalyst. A coordinator of useful elements--brought from its own stock and, to a reasonable extent, from outside."

These words are from an editorial in Thursday's AKTUELT, which surprisingly enough is grasping the nettle and saying almost outright that the conflict between the left wing and right wing of the party's Folketing group is destroying the Social Democratic Party's power to act.

The remarkable editorial comes only a few days after AKTUELT--in the Sunday edition--spent six pages analyzing the situation in the Social Democratic Party.

There Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen said that it was his definite opinion that "the split in the Social Democratic Party that there is so much talk about and that so many desire does not exist at all."

But Thomas Nielsen, chairman of the LO [Danish Federation of Trade Unions], did not take the same view. He said outright that everybody in the Folketing group had such trouble placing himself that there was a question of a split in the group.

The background for AKTUELT's Sunday analysis was the criticism, especially from non-socialist politicians and the non-socialist press, directed at the

government's and the Social Democratic Party's position--or lack of same--on future policy in important fields. For example, on the energy policy.

The Editorial

The LO's critical attitude toward the government and the Folketing group led to AKTUELT editor Frede Ledet's writing his editorial Thursday on "Power to Act."

"In many strata of society, and especially among progressives, doubts are arising about what to stake our hopes on and in what priority order," it reads in part. "The economic crisis has sharpened the debate. Against that background it must be extra clear that a conditional party unity has no meaning.

"The danger arises at the moment when divergent points of view are lessening the Social Democratic Party's possibility of putting forward solutions that in the given situation are felt as a convincing answer to problems. And it would be dishonest to deny anxiety here.

"The attacks on the Social Democratic Party are so incessant that they almost have a soporific effect. But it would be reckless to reject them lock, stock, and barrel as merely a tactical smear campaign. It is necessary to sort through and analyze the criticism. And take it according to need.

"A government should be seen as a catalyst. A coordinator of useful elements--taken from its own stock and, to a reasonable extent, from outside."

That the government has had great difficulties since it took office at the end of October has been obvious to everybody in the Folketing. But according to many politicians the situation did not show up in its full seriousness until the government suddenly put off a decision on nuclear power.. Once again Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen said that the reason was still unclarified technical problems, including storage of wastes.

But the direct cause was fear of an open split in the Social Democratic Party between advocates and opponents. As in the EC debate. One of the younger members of the Folketing group said that straight out.

"There can be no doubt that some elements of society are thirsting for a chance to take part in the yes-no debate, a debate that the Social Democratic Party, for understandable reasons, does not want at the present time," Søren Nørgaard Sørensen wrote in the latest number of NY POLITIK.

The LO is dissatisfied with the government's position, and a few days after the Social Democratic Folketing group had approved the government's decision the executive committee of the LO announced that they still wanted nuclear power in Denmark.

Stick Together

In AKTUELT's analysis Thomas Nielsen said that it had not been easy to find out what the line is in the government and/or the party.

But Thomas Nielsen still thinks that the trade union movement and the party will stay together "and continue to try behind closed doors to find the right pattern of collaboration, which will be to the advantage of the entire workers' movement."

And the prime minister emphasized that the Social Democratic Party is and will continue to be the solid party, the fixed point in Danish politics.

A number of other Social Democrats expressed themselves in AKTUELT on the party's situation. Henry Grunbaum said that the Karl Hjørtnæs affair was burdensome to the party. Karl Hjørtnæs himself felt "complete vindication" for him personally.

The Situation

Defense Minister Poul Søgaard said that the Social Democratic defense measures meet the NATO obligations. Robert Pedersen wants the defense allocations raised. Knud Damgaard foresaw a "zero solution plus one thing or another."

Energy Minister Poul Nielsen does not think there is any change in principle in the government's policy. Jytte Hilden opposes nuclear power plants.

Finance Minister Svend Jakobsen says that the big economic problem is the balance of payments. The political spokesman Ole Espersen says that the core is the traditional combination of unemployment and balance-of-payments problems. But that the main emphasis must be placed on the balance of payments.

Traveling

And while the debate goes on in the fragmented Folketing group, Anker Jørgensen leaves on Sunday for a 10-day vacation on Tenerife. Knud Heinesen, chairman of the Folketing group and chairman of the Social Democratic Party's internal economy committee, which is supposed to look for billions, has just left for Rhodesia to spend 3 weeks as parliamentary observer at the coming election.

8815

CSO: 3106

EXTREME LEFT W/ REACTION TO SOVIET AFGHANISTAN AGGRESSION

Paris EST & OUEST in French Feb 80 p 14

[Article by Pierre Veron: "The Extreme Left in the Face of the Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Ever since it was reconstituted, the extreme left has always considered the United States the main enemy of the revolution or, to use the members' terminology, "U. S. imperialism." It is indeed true that it was reconstituted and developed in the opposition to the American intervention in Vietnam. The Trotskyites were promoting the "National Vietnam Committee," whereas the Maoists were building up the network of the "Base Vietnam Committees." Both demonstrated by chanting the names of Ho Chi Minh and Che Guevara who, prior to his departure for Bolivia, called for establishing in Latin America "one, two, three Vietnams."

It seems as though the adoption of such anti-American positions has been retained by Trotskyite political awareness, whereas the Maoists, following the Chinese views, are more willingly denouncing the "new Russian imperialism." The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan makes it possible to see this divorce between the two political families of the organized extreme left.

The Trotskyites

The LOCI-AJS [Internationalist Communist Organization-Alliance of Youth for Socialism], rejects both imperialisms and mixes up responsibilities of all the types of imperialism: "The virtually general insurrection of the Afghan tribes attacking the successive governments installed in Kabul with the growing support of the Kremlin (let us appreciate the cautious formulation), proves the real breakdown of all established order and all structures painfully erected in that country under the joint supervision of the USSR, China, and the British and American imperialists" (INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES, No 930, 5-12 January 1980).

LUTTE OUVRIERE maintains that "the Russian intervention in Afghanistan does not actually conflict with the interests of American imperialism." The reason being that 'by intervening in that country the Russians have not changed in their favor the balance of political forces and. . . have simply contributed to the maintenance of the existing political balance; they have acted, as does the United States, in their zones of influence...' (LUTTE OUVRIERE, No 605, 5 Jan 1980).

The LCR, the Trotskyite organization most influenced by the revolutionary Third World, goes farther in its non-condemnation of the USSR and indirectly holding the United States responsible. Its arguments are both richer and better formulated: The USSR is truly concerned with the possible effects of such imperialist-supported religious agitation on its own Muslim minorities. . . . The massive Soviet presence. . . can only. . . trigger Afghan nationalistic reactions." In other words, the Soviet Union is forced to intervene in Afghanistan to protect itself. The LCR deplores the form taken by the intervention and describes its own position in a single sentence: "In this situation, it is a question of opposing any retaliation on the part of imperialism against the Soviet state and of condemning the aid it gives to the reactionary Islamic guerrillas, we should nurture no illusions whatever on the 'revolution from above' which B. Karmal is trying to impose on the Afghan masses." (ROUGE, No 890, 4-10 January 1980). In the final account, the condemnation is still aimed at U.S. imperialism.

The Maoists (or Marxists-Leninists)

On 4 January LE QUOTIDIEN DU PEUPLE, the joint organ of the PRML and the PCML, carried the following headline: "Russian Troops Out of Afghanistan;" the comments emphasized the following slogan: "A very grave step has been taken by the USSR. . . . which claims to be a force of peace yet interferes at will in the internal affairs of a sovereign country, putting at the head of this country people it considers to be most suited to its policy."

LE QUOTIDIEN DU PEUPLE recalls that since 1968 "facts are piling up proving the imperialist policy of USSR" (Czechoslovakia, Cubans in Africa. . .). According to the newspaper, "The USSR, actually, would like to benefit from the weakening, the retreats of the United States, to try to take its place. . . Within the framework of its rivalry with the United States, the USSR proves that it is precisely it that is presently in a state of offensive by developing a true policy of conquests, whereas the United States is attempting, above all, to maintain its own imperialist position (. . .) even though it is not renouncing its ambitions as confirmed by the threats to Iran. In its current offensive it is the USSR which proves to be, currently, the main hotbed of war."

Specifically, the Maoists would be the only ones to oppose Soviet intervention. Naturally, their Chinese tutor is influencing their positions. However, this does not detract anything from a certain lucidity displayed.

EXTREME LEFT WING ORGANIZATIONS, POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN 1979

Paris EST & OUEST in French Feb 80 pp 15-18

[Article by Pierre Veron: "The Extreme Left in 1979"]

[Text] [Glossary and press] Internationalist Communist Organization--Alliance of the Youth for Socialism (OCI--AJS). Organ: INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES, weekly.

Communist Revolutionary League (LCR). Organ: ROUGE, weekly.

Laborers' Communist Organization (OCT). Organ: L'ETINCELLE, monthly.

Workers' Struggle (LO). Organ: LUTTE OUVRIERE, weekly.

Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (PEML) Organ: LE QUOTIDIEN DU PEUPLE, daily.

Revolutionary Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (PCRML). Organ: LE QUOTIDIEN DU PEUPLE, daily.

For the extreme left 1979 was a year particularly rich from the structural viewpoint (splits, mergers, congresses). It was clearly less so in terms of its political and militancy impact. The activism deployed in the hope that a powerful movement of claims by the working people against the government would develop failed to yield the anticipated results.

The extreme left was contemplating the birth of a movement capable of sweeping off the March 1978 failure through the strikes and demonstrations of the Lorrainian metallurgical workers. The target was to promote a general strike and to reenergize the antiparliamentary way, as a prelude to the system's overthrow. The reaching of this objective

would have unquestionably enabled the extreme left to regain the dynamism it has lost for some time. However, the movement of the metallurgical workers, despite its violent aspects, did not, on the one hand, spread as desired; on the other, the PCF [French Communist Party] retained over it its direct or indirect control (through the CGT [General Confederation of Labor]). In the course of the 23 March Paris demonstration it became clear that the penetration of the extreme left in the big mass movements remained spotty and without continuity.

The failure of the leftist parties, in March 1978, had repercussions on the extreme left. This is no paradox: The revolutionaries were relying on a leftist electoral victory in order to develop a spillover tactic. The scenario could not be played out and the extreme left found itself without a future. Here is the way a member, a "settler," i.e., someone who had abandoned his studies to work at the plant, the trade union representative at Renault-Flins, describes his reaction:

"I exploded one morning in April 1978, following the defeat of the left in the legislative elections: The last illusions of seeing the political situation rapidly developed in a revolutionary sense have vanished. For a number of years the extreme left has been in a state of open crisis: The accounts were to be settled in 1978. The reason that I held on for so long was certainly the political situation" (N. Dubost, "Flins sans fin" [Flins Without End], F. Maspero, April 1979).

The defeat of March 1978 was added to the problems faced by this member within the plant's CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor], forcing him to requestion his trade union and political involvements.

The drawing of political balances was paralleled by a drawing of press balances. In February 1979 ROUGE, the Revolutionary Communist League daily went back to being a weekly. To this day its financial situation is unstable. The endless collections and subscription drives have not as yet covered its deficit: 800,000 francs remain to be found to settle all accounts. The LCR, therefore, is forced to take from membership fees, which should be used to meet organizational expenditures, the necessary funds to repay loans borrowed from its own members. "This will create a very tight situation in terms of LCR finances and budget, limiting its possibilities to act" (ROUGE, No 895, 4-10 January).

TRIBUNE SOCIALISTE, the PSU [Unified Socialist Party], has become a monthly and all that is left of the weekly is a four-page publication; L'ETINCELLE, the weekly of the Laborers' Organization, has become a monthly.

Other indicators of the stagnation of the extreme left are the low energy with which it mobilized its members and sympathizers against the extraditions of Italian revolutionaries, and the poor response to its

campaigns of solidarity with worldwide revolutionary movements (Iran, Nicaragua, . . .). The "leftist crisis" is manifested structurally through the regrouping of the various organizations.

The Marxists-Leninists (Maoists)

The Marxists-Leninists, scattered among numerous parties and groups, retain a marginal role on the French political stage. The two main organizations, the PCML [Marxist-Leninist Communist Party] (organ: L'HUMANITE ROUGE) and the PCR (ML) (organ: LE QUOTIDIEN DU PEUPLE), have begun merger proceedings. An agreement protocol was issued on 25 October 1979. It includes the following:

1. Coordination of work plans;
2. The merger of press systems (the dailies merged on 1 January 1980);
3. Preparations for a unification congress which would make the election, on a parity basis, of a leading body possible.

This would mark the completion of a rapprochement which began in March 1978 with the drafting of a common list of candidates for the legislative elections. However, at the end of last year, a crisis broke out within the PCML. The Breton members were questioning the organization's structures. Following a meeting, held on 13 January, 65 members resigned, whereas 60 others decided to remain and promote a "reform" of the party. This crisis will be felt in the next congress scheduled for June.

The Trotskyites

The Trotskyite current has experienced convulsions as well. The Revolutionary Communist League was forced to hold two congresses in 1979. The first, in Saint-Gratien, held in January, had revealed a number of diverging trends. The leadership found itself in the minority and was forced to accept a compromise with the leftist trend in order to remain in power. The central committee was elected on a proportional basis. In its 29 January 1979 issue LIBERATION wrote that, "The congress marked the beginning of an extended crisis . . . and everyone has kept his positions . . .," in the course of the debate on alliances and mergers among organizations. It was only in November, at the second congress which was held in L'Hay-les-Roses, as a preparation for the world congress of the Fourth International (see appendix) that the crisis was declared. The wing close to the Internationalist Communist Organization answered the latter's call for the organization of an international meeting of realigned international groups. One-quarter of the members, therefore, left the LCR to start a new Trotskyite organization: The Internationalist Communist League.

This departure opened the door to those who, within the Laborers' Communist Organization, supported a merger with the LCR. One-half of the membership had approved of the merger at the third congress, held in April. The OCT today exists in a residual state only. Those who resigned joined the left wing of the Communist League.

The Internationalist Communist Organization itself was shaken up by an internal crisis. In February Charles Berg, secretary general of the youth organization, Youth Alliance for Socialism, was expelled for disciplinary reasons: He is said to have forged the number of members and misappropriated funds. A more political version is making the rounds within the extreme left: His opposition to a rapprochement with the LCR, planned for the beginning of 1979, might have been the reason for his expulsion. Be that as it may, an extraordinary congress (24-27 May) voted to retain P. Lambert's leadership and approved the traditional political orientations: A single workers' front, organization of demonstrations against the National Assembly, and for a Socialist Party-PCF government.

Memberships

Currently, it appears as though the OCI alone is displaying a certain dynamism. In this time of uncertainties, its sectarianism, unquestionably, plays a reassuring role. It is about to become the main left-wing organization. According to the press it has the biggest membership (4,000 according to LE MATIN, 2 January 1980), numerically exceeding the LCR (2,400 according to the same source). Workers' Struggle, the most discrete group, except for electoral campaigns, would have about 1,500 members. As to the LCR we should shade the figure mentioned. Bearing in mind the information provided in the course of its November congress, a membership of 1,200 would be more likely. Let us break down our reasoning: 41 out of 160 delegates dropped out of the LCR. This would represent about 300 members. There would be, therefore, one delegate per 7.3 members; 160 delegates would represent 1,168 members. These figures offer merely a scale, considering the lack of 100 percent reliable information.

In the same way we could try to determine the size of the PCML membership based on information provided at the time the Breton members left. The "Brittany Region," according to the press, would account for one-third of the PCML (LE MONDE, 27 December 1979, stated that last spring the PCML numbered 1,500 members). The PCML had 300 members "in the four Breton departments last June" (LE MONDE, 17 January 1980). Coordinating the two data and multiplying one times the other we determine a total of 900 members. There is a substantial disparity between the two figures given within a 20 day interval.

As far as the PCML is concerned, we have no precise data whatever to assess its size. What is certain is that, after a substantial increase

in 1975 it experienced a number of successive dropouts, particularly in the Paris area. Entire cells dropped out or slowly disintegrated. Actually, since the March 1978 elections the PCRML has not had a big meeting, the kind of "communist rally" demonstrations which it particularly liked. It should have a few hundred members.

There remains the matter of the Working People's Communist Organization, a scuttle-butt kind of organization between the Trotskyites and the Marxist-Leninists. At the end of 1977, by the time of its second congress, it had already lost 600 out of 1,400 members (ROUGE, 8 February 1978). Further resignations have followed. Some members have rallied around a new periodical, COUP POUR COUP. In the course of 1979 one-half of the some 800 members rejoined the Revolutionary Communist League.

All in all, the extreme left could have a total regular membership of about 10,000.

The 11th Congress of the Fourth International

The 11th Congress of the "Fourth International" was held from 17 to 25 November 1979. Even before it opened, it was known that the representatives of its 35 sections would be divided on the Latin American question or, more specifically, the nature of the help to be given to the young Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

Actually, the rival international organization of the "Fourth International," the Organizational Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (CORQI), whose major forces are provided by the French Internationalist Communist Organization, had already called for a countercongress, aimed at the two factions of the current Fourth International. One of them, the "Bolshevik Faction" (FB), in the majority in the Latin American sections, had been carrying out its own activities for a number of years, proclaiming its opposition to the theses of the Unified Secretariat, head the Fourth International¹. The other trend known as "Leninist-Trotskyite" (TLT), had supported the views of the CORQI as far as the Sandinista revolution was concerned. Both FB and TLT were involved in raising the Simon Bolivar Brigade which had gone to fight in Nicaragua on the side of the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front]. The Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, which unreservedly supported the FSLN, had had to denounce the political orientation of the brigade which was refuting the national alliance policy of the FSLN directed against the Somoza rule. These divergent views, therefore, resulted in the withdrawal of the Bolshevik Faction and the Leninist-Trotskyite Trend which became closer with the CORQI and set up, with it, a new international structure: A Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International."

The Fourth International lost in this matter one-quarter of its membership and, above all, its firm footing in Argentina. The split was extended to France, for the LCR--the French section of the Fourth International--experienced the withdrawal of one-quarter of its members. They reassembled in the Internationalist Communist League (LCI) and started the newspaper TRIBUNE OUVRIERE. In the final account, the Fourth International found itself weakened and a realignment occurred to the benefit of the competing international organization, the CORQI. However, these happenstances did not prevent the adoption of a manifesto (published in INPRECOR, No 66, of 20 December 1979). Curiously enough, this text is a more shaded and subtler formulation compared with E. Mandel's. At the beginning of December 1979 the Unified Secretariat theoretician published an article in the weekly ROUGE (No 895). Both texts have the same structure. However, that of E. Mandel seems to us to reveal better the political orientations of the Fourth International.

Let us cite a few passages.

As far as the world situation is concerned, E. Mandel writes that "This is the first time in a long time that capitalism has not had, since 1975, a global policeman which could defend with any degree of efficiency its strategic, political, and economic positions, which are the keys of the international imperialist system." Imperialism, essentially American imperialism, was preparing to resume the initiative, for which reason "the Fourth International . . . calls upon the workers and the oppressed masses the world over not to adopt the irresponsible idea that imperialism is no longer capable of reacting, but to unite with the revolutions underway against counterrevolutionary interventions" (i.e., with Iran, Afghanistan, Nicaragua . . . the editors). What makes this imperialist or capitalist crisis even deeper is that there has been no issue from the existence of a powerful labor movement and national emancipation struggle, "the workers states having already taken one-third of mankind away from direct capitalist exploitation" (Mandel does not specify whether or not he includes among the "workers' states"

Kampuchea). All that is lacking is the decisive political factor of "a revolutionary leadership on the level of the task" for the world revolution to take place. The political crisis of the bureaucracies in the "workers' states" strengthens E. Mandel's optimism, even though he may still fear the awakening of American imperialism.

Actually, the Fourth International remains in the shadow of the USSR. Mandel also describes the major lines of Trotskyite action: "We are fighting for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie through a mass action which would make it possible to mobilize and politicize the great majority of the working people . . . to obtain a maximum of workers' democracy within the trade unions and the other mass organizations. . . for the workers to learn self-management in its most multiple forms as of today, in the course of the current struggles: Unified committees of the united front at the base; strike committees democratically elected

by strikers' general assemblies; district committees and committees for all types of struggle."

. . . "The workers' answer must be united if it is to be effective. A reduction of the length of the work week--35 hours in Europe--without a lowering of wages and with proportional mandatory hiring and workers' control over the rhythm is the main claim around which the unified struggle against unemployment should be organized. . . . It is a question of preparing a counteroffensive which would counter bourgeois austerity with an anticapitalist alternative. This alternative should be focused on a united front policy and on a government by the working people, i.e., by the big organizations of the workers' masses in each country."

Therefore, the sections of the Fourth International will have to support the leftist parties and, essentially, the communist parties, and force them to organize a united front. This orientation complements the pro-Soviet leaning of the Fourth International, since "the workers' states have already removed one-third of mankind from direct capitalist exploitation."

5157

CSO: 3100

MINOR PARTY CANDIDATES, PARTIES IN 1981 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Paris LE FIGARO in French 19 Feb 80 p 1

[Article by Bernard Brizay: "The Pitfalls of Selection: 500 Signatures in 30 Departments"]

[Text] There is apparently nothing easier than being a candidate in the 1981 presidential election: one has only to declare himself a candidate. In reality, nothing will be more difficult than being invested as a candidate in the next presidential elections, so Draconian are the newly enacted constitutional rules to which are added the very recent directives of the minister of the interior.

Indeed, if there ever was a contest in which the unevenness of chances was obvious, it is the presidential contest, 1981 version. Preselection in it will be ruthless, and many candidates will be weeded out even before being able to come forward as candidates in the election.

What are the rules for admission to this contest?

In 1976 Parliament passed an organic law raising to 500 (instead of 100 for the three preceding elections) the number of "qualified" signatures --that is, sponsorships--that each candidate must collect from deputies, senators, county councillors, Parisian councillors, members of the territorial assemblies of the T.O.M. (Overseas Territories) and mayors. And all this in at least 30 departments (instead of 10) and without more than one-tenth of these signatures coming from the same department.*

During the vote on this law, few really considered the height of the barrier which was thus erected against potential candidates. For the candidates of the large parties--the "gang of four," as they are called, this is no problem. But for the others? It is doubtful whether the candidates of small formations or associations and, a fortiori, "those who represent only themselves" will be capable of getting as far as the election itself.

* See our 23 Jan 80 issue.

The chances of these "marginal" candidates for candidacy will be further reduced, since the minister of the interior seems determined to place new obstacles in their path.

Christian Bonnet sent a circular--number 79,419 dated 30 Nov 79--to all prefects concerning the "forms relating to a candidate's running in the presidential election." This circular states that these forms "are to be given solely and individually to elected officials wishing to sponsor a candidate" and that, moreover, "at the present time no sponsorship can be taken into account considering the amount of time before the next presidential election."

In preceding presidential elections these forms did not exist, and the "sponsors" signed a simple unstamped paper. Moreover, the names of the elected officials who have signed these forms will be published by the Constitutional Council.

This publicity for the signatures, added to the fact that the forms will be delivered only to the elected officials who ask for them and "in a timely manner" singularly complicates the "small" candidates' job.

Not only will they no longer be able to solicit "sponsors" so readily (the latter must themselves go and get a form at the prefecture), but they risk running out of time if these forms are distributed only after the decree convening the voters, or approximately 2 months before the first round.

This avalanche of rules will not fail to discourage many candidates. But it is speculated that this is precisely the desired goal in order to avoid anarchical multiplication of candidates.

Yet, everything is happening as if this remedy had given rise to a new sickness: namely, a plethora of candidates for candidacy. There are no fewer than nine declared candidates, and a dozen other candidates are ascribed the intention of declaring themselves during the next few weeks.

Taking the Field

In fact, the "small" candidates have everything to gain by taking the field rapidly in the absence of "big" candidates and by getting the media's attention as much as possible. Aware that their chances of participating in the final test are less than slim, they intend not to deprive themselves of this gratuitous opportunity to have their names, their photographs and their programs in the newspapers.

The new arrangements regulating admission to presidential candidacy finally risk having unforeseen and, at the very least, negative consequences.

The difficulty of obtaining signatures may in fact give rise to a regular black market: shortage creates traffick. Some politicians are already

worrying about seeing big formations with a large stock of signatures secretly supplying small candidates capable of taking votes from their adversary. Under these circumstances--and let us state at the outset that this is purely hypothetical--one would see the socialist party, for example, giving "sponsors" to candidates on the extreme right capable of taking periods out of candidate Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and the U.D.F. [French Democratic Union] supplying signatures to an ecologist who is in a position to take votes away from the socialist candidate.

Thus, in seeking to dissuade at any price candidates who do not belong to the big parties in the name of the danger of anarchy, the creation of practices that are highly condemnable in terms of political morality is being risked.

Already Nine Applicants for Candidacy
(In alphabetical order)

Jacques Belhomme (the "justiciary"), Huguette Bouchardreau (PSU), Raymond Fouquest (FJC [expansion unknown]), Roger Garaudy (former PC [Communist Party] member), Pascal Gauchon (PFN [expansion unknown]), Eric Hineremann (PSD [Social Democrat Party]), Jean-Marie Le Pen (FN [National Front]), Michel Pachkoff (PS [Socialist Party] member), Maurice Shoirfer (independent socialist).

9380

CSO: 3100

SERIES TWO C-160 TRANSALL DESCRIBED

Paris AVIATION MAGAZINE INTERNATIONAL in French 1-14 Mar 80 pp 23,25,27-29

[Article by Jean Perard]

[Text] Military transport needs change very little with time and, since the world market is moreover relatively small, there are not many cargo transport planes in production worldwide specifically designed for military use. In fact, only three deliverable models exist in the West: the Lockheed C-130 Hercules, which, modification upon modification, cheerfully displays its 22 years of age; the C-160 Transall, revived after a production hiatus of several years in the series; and the Italian FIAT G-222. To these three, we might add a number of smaller two-engined multiple-role transports, such as the CASA 212 Aviocar, the Arava and the Skyvan, which are not in the same class with the former from a capabilities standpoint, however, and are intended for a mixed civil/military market, particularly in Third World countries.

When in the mid-1970's our Air Force studied the available alternatives for increasing its capabilities and replacing its obsolete Nord 2501's, the choice was simple: purchase the Hercules or launch a new Transall series; the FIAT G-222 did not offer comparable performance as regards transportable payload or cruising radius. The purchase of American planes would undoubtedly have been the most economical solution in view of the Lockheed series production already in being (by 1975, 1,400 planes had been ordered and 1,300 delivered), but it presented obvious political and industrial drawbacks. Quite understandably, therefore, the more so since French industry was at the time undergoing a bad period and needed a shot in the arm, the Air Force opted for a revival of the Transall.

The Transall was the outcome of a Franco-German cooperative effort based on an agreement signed 16 December 1959. The first series, brought out in 1964, involved the production of 178 planes, 110 of which went to the Luftwaffe and 50 to the French Air Force. Industrially, these planes were built by Nord Aviation at Bourges, VFW [expansion unknown] at Bremen, and HFB [expansion unknown] at Hamburg.

Anticipating a French decision to launch a new series, the participating companies in the original one--AEROSPATIALE [French National Industrial Aerospace Company], VFW-Fokker and MBB [Messerschmitt-Badlow-Blohm]--signed an industrial cooperation agreement on 29 October 1976, stipulating the construction details. The French government then confirmed, in December 1976, its intent to order the first 25 Transalls beginning in 1978.

Then, since the economic effort undertaken by the partners involved (the builders and the Air Force) required an estimated initial production of 75 planes, a parallel marketing effort was instituted. In view of the embargoes that for political reasons had been imposed on certain potential clients, such as South Africa, and of the formidable competition from the Lockheed Hercules, which had dominated the market for two decades, the Transall could not hope to find acceptance other than in a limited number of countries where its performance under unfavorable conditions, ranging from rugged terrains to high ambient temperatures, and its payload capacity could be the determining factors in the choice.

Three demonstration drives were opened following the production startup decision. An order for three planes was obtained from Indonesia, where negotiations are proceeding for an additional order. To enlarge its potential market, AEROSPATIALE is studying versions of this plane suited to other missions such as maritime surveillance or firefighting.

Operationally, the new Transall series features certain advantages over its direct competitor, the Hercules. Its cargo bay, which according to original specifications must conform to standard rail cargo dimensions, is larger than the Hercules's. It is 90 centimeters longer and has a decidedly larger volume: 139.9 cubic meters (including ramp) versus 121.7 cubic meters. Its performance characteristics on "hot and high" terrain and on rugged terrain are superior. On the other hand, for equal payloads, the Hercules has a more extended cruising range than the new Transall series, even with the latter's modifications. Lockheed, however, having produced an enormous number of C-130's, can offer its plane at a price with which it is very hard to compete.

From an industrial standpoint, the resumption of Transall production is estimated to cost 120 million francs. For the AEROSPATIALE aircraft division, each plane represents 80,000 hours of labor. [Exhibit A]

The Modifications

Three basic modifications were specified by the Air Force Central Commission for Modifications:

1. The capacity of the center wing-section fuel tank has been increased from 5,000 liters to 9,000 liters, bringing its theoretical cruising radius to some 8,000 kilometers with a 4-ton payload. The Air Force's ratings are lower, however, based on the operational conditions inherent in its functions. The weight of the plane under operating conditions without payload,

which is 20 tons for the builder, is greater with the required Air Force-installed equipment aboard. The Air Force ratings furthermore include a 10-percent reserve factor and allowances for the adverse wind conditions and extremely high temperatures that are regularly encountered in its zones of intervention.

2. Installation of a refueling rod 4 meters in length, angled above the pilot's cockpit at an angle of 6 degrees above the horizontal. [Exhibit B]

3. Installation of an automatic flight and navigational control system consisting of modern equipment: in principle, without changes to original wiring and in a manner such as to ensure interchangeability with the equipment of Series 1 planes at negligible expense.

There are, furthermore, three additional important points to note:

A. Improved resistance to fatigue obtained through certain structural modifications responding to problems encountered over 15 years of operating experience. These modifications include particularly the elimination of the side loading door, which has proven unnecessary. The resultant savings of 160 kilograms in weight practically offsets the weight increase resulting from reinforcement of the wing center section.

B. Frenchification of the equipment.

C. The equipping of 10 planes as in-flight refueling planes capable of tending the other Transalls as well as certain tactical planes in flight.

The new equipment includes: the SFIM [Measurement Instruments Production Company] Type 51 Automatic Pilot, replacing the Sperry Automatic Pilot; the EMD [Marcel Dassault Electronics] Doppler navigational RDN 72; the Crouzet "Nadir" navigation calculator; SFIM heading and vertical equipment; SFENA [French Air Navigation Company] piloting instruments; the SFIM DV 86 Flight Director, replacing Sperry equipment and the ONERA [National Office of Aerospace Studies and Research] ORB 37 meteorological radar.

Test Status of the New Systems

--In-Flight Refueling: The tests carried out to date have consisted of refueling approaches without fuel transfers from Transall to Transall, Transall to Mirage F-1, Transall to Jaguar, and Transall to Etendard IV M.

These tests have made it possible to harden the specification for the refueler and the refueled: air brake control on the stick. The system is the one already in use on the Etendard IV, the Naval Air Arm's refueler. It is a flexible system using a "Paradoque" unreeled from and reeled back into a container located adjacent to the power car under the left wing.

Use of a modified "Paradoque" would enable in-flight refueling of helicopters.

--Automatic Flight Equipment: These tests and Air Force acceptance tests have been completed. The results have been found satisfactory by the In-Flight Testing Center and the Military Programs Bureau. The same is true for the navigational systems.

--ONERA Radar Tests: These have also been completed.

The developmental, testing, and acceptance programs for the new equipments have been completed in accordance with the schedule laid out in 1978.

The production schedule among the three partners--AEROSPATIALE, MBB, VFW--calls for:

--start of assembly at Toulouse 30 April 1980

--first Model 201 flight: 15 April 1981;

--first Model 202 flight: 15 May 1981;

--in-flight refueling test under real conditions between the 201 and the 202: Summer of 1981;

--delivery to the Air Force targeted for the Fall of that same year.

Upon completion of delivery of the 28 Transalls Series 2, the Air Force's other Transalls will undoubtedly be reequipped and modified to Series 2 specifications.

Characteristics and Performance Data

Dimensionally, the new Transall does not differ from the previous one. It can transport 93 troops with equipment, vehicles, tanks, etc., 61 to 81 paratroopers or 62 wounded with 4 medical attendants. Its regular crew consists of 4 men.

Dimensions: wingspan 40 m; length 32.40 m; height 11.65 m; landing gear gage 11.65 m (turning radius 28.60 m); landing gear wheelbase 10.48 m.

Inside Dimensions: length of cargo compartment 13.51 m exclusive of ramp (total 17.21 m); height 2.98 m; width 3.15 m (SNCF [French National Railroads] standard); volume 115 m³ exclusive of ramp (total 139.80 m³); floor area 42.60 m² exclusive of ramp (total 54.25 m²); rear cargo-hatch 3.15 m x 2.98 m; paratroop hatches 0.90 m x 1.80 m.

Weights: maximum takeoff 51 tons; maximum landing 47 tons; maximum without fuel 45 tons; empty and operational 28 tons; maximum payload 17 tons; normal fuel 19,000 liters; maximum fuel with central tank liters.

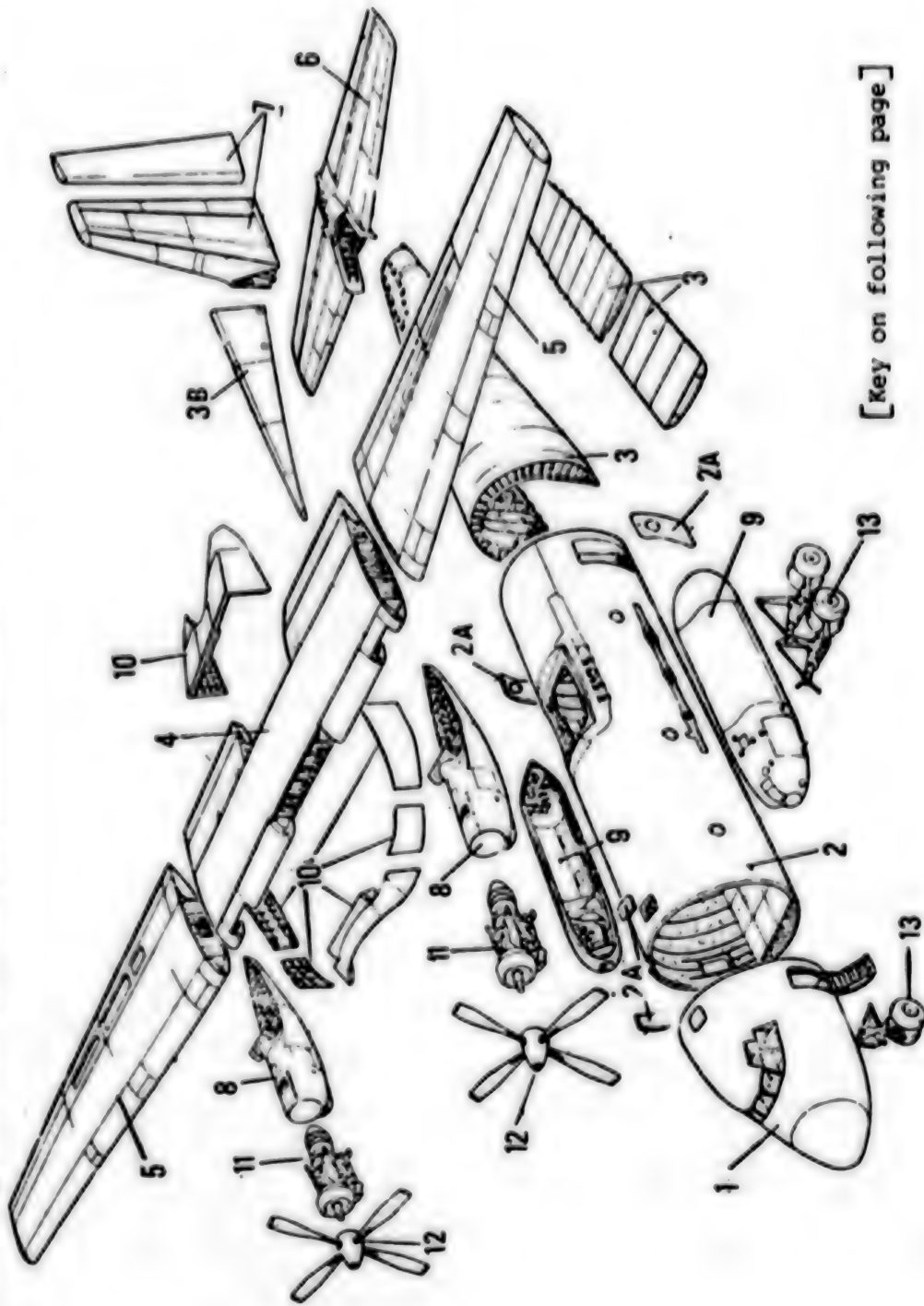
Propulsion: two Rolls Royce/SNECMA Type 20 Mk 22 Turboprops, 6,100 hp at takeoff; Ratier-Forest/HSD propeller, 5.5 m diameter.

Performance Ratings: length of runway for takeoff at 45 t: 700 m; for landing at 40 t: 600 m; maximum cruising speed 500 km/hr; service ceiling 9,150 m.

At an empty weight of 28 t and 17 t of payload, the Transall has a cruising radius of 1,850 km; with 8 t of payload its cruising radius is 5,450 km and with 4 t, it is 5,950 km; with center tanks (capacity increased by 9,000 liters), its cruising radius with 4 t of payload increases to 7,250 km; its ferried range is 9,050 km.

[EXHIBIT A]

In the production stage, the Transall Series 2 will be assembled at Toulouse by AEROSPATIALE from components produced by the Series 1 cooperating firms in the Federal Republic of Germany and by AEROSPATIALE's plants and those of its subcontractors.



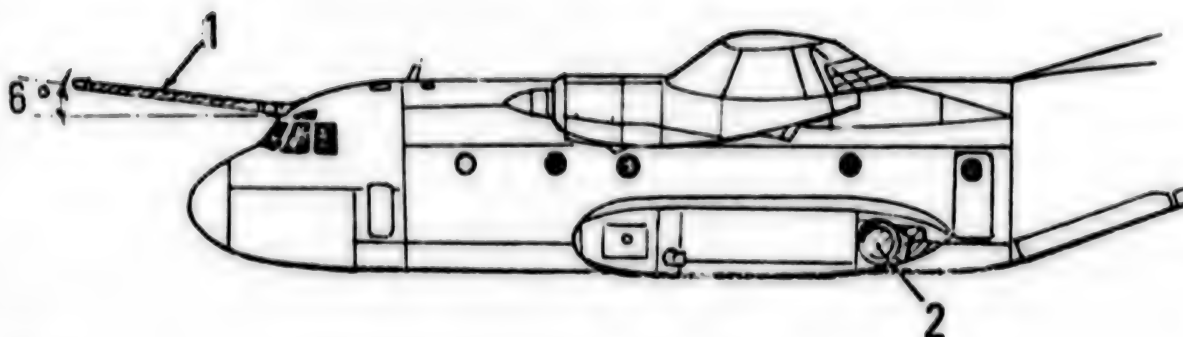
[Key on following page]

Key [to preceding page]:

1. Forward fuselage by MBB, Hamburg
2. Center fuselage by VFW, Lemwerder
- 2A. Hatches and emergency exits by AEROSPATIALE, Toulouse
3. Rear fuselage by MBB, Hamburg
- 3A,3B [as published]. Loading ramp and dorsal fin by MBB, Donauwoerth
4. Center wing-section by AEROSPATIALE, Nantes
5. Wings by AEROSPATIALE, Meaulte
6. Horizontal tail unit by FVW, Einwarden
7. Stabilizer and rudder by VFW, Bremen
8. CTP [expansion unknown] power car by AEROSPATIALE, Les Mureaux
9. Landing gear nacelles by VFW, Lemwerder
10. Fuselage wing fairing by AEROSPATIALE, Meaulte
11. GPP [expansion unknown] equipment and assemblies by SNECMA. Chatellerault
12. Propellers by Ratier-Figeac
13. Main and auxiliary landing gears by Messier, Strasbourg

(According to AEROSPATIALE document)

[EXHIBIT B]



Key: *

1. Refueling of the new Transalls will take place via a fixed rod 4 meters long, tilted 6 degrees above the horizontal along the axis of and above the cockpit.
2. Some Transalls will be equipped as refuelers with a flexible, retractable tubing system; this system is already in use on the Naval Air Arm's Etendard IV's. The assembly will be mounted behind the left landing gear nacelle.

9399

CSO: 3100

OBSTACLES IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SOVIETS REPORTED

Athens HELLENEWS EXPRESS in English 6 Mar 80 pp 2-4

[Text] Greek-Soviet economic cooperation appears to have run into certain obstacles. Reportedly, there are growing doubts about the implementation of what was agreed in Moscow during the visit of Mr Karamanlis, last October. Oil supplies and energy were mentioned in particular. From the Greek angle, the difficulties are attributable to certain objections being raised by the Soviet side and to unexpected new demands being made by it. The same Greek quarters maintain that the Soviet attitude is linked to the more general complications which the USSR is allegedly facing, after its forces moved into Afghanistan.

It was claimed that the Soviet side has refrained from the signature of contracts covering what was agreed in October, in Moscow, on specific issues, on the grounds that it prefers a global economic accord which would include these and other issues. The Greek side has replied that such a comprehensive accord would have little practical meaning since the specific sectors in which cooperation is feasible have already been jointly identified and it is on these that the agreements were reached. The explanation offered by the Greek side to these Soviet tactics is that, maybe, there is a desire to forestall Greek international economic policy in other directions also.

In the particular case of bauxite, readers will recollect that there had been extensive negotiations for the construction of plant to produce alumina. The Soviet side is now reportedly limiting its participation to the supply of the necessary machinery and equipment and no longer undertakes to absorb the plant's alumina output, as allegedly promised in October. That such an alumina plant has not yet been built in Greece is not for any lack in ability to obtain the necessary capital. It is because the world alumina market is largely controlled by the cartel of multi-nationals and there would no guaranteed outlet for whatever alumina was to be produced. [as printed] The Soviet side also asked that they should be appointed to elaborate a technical and economic study on the project for a substantial fee, despite that such a study, prepared by

Hungarian engineers already exists and the Soviets themselves use Hungarian technology in their aluminum industry. A committee appointed by the Minister of Industry is looking into the Soviet proposals and will be handing in its recommendations by the end of this month. A further complication in connection with an alumina plant arose out of a Soviet request that a team of more than 30 experts should spend some months in Greece on geological research and prospecting to determine the size and quality of the country's bauxite deposits. The Greek side feels that geological research is a matter exclusively for Greek competent services to handle and this work has already been carried out. Available reserves are known and, as regards quality, the USSR has been a purchaser of Greek bauxite since 1952 and should be well aware of its characteristics without need for any further analyses or teams of numerous advisors.

Where oil is concerned, the latest position seems to be that the promised 2,000,000 tons for 1980 has shrunk to 1,100,000 of which 400,000 tons are of Libyan origin, anyway. Greece is, however, being offered a further 500,000 tons of Libyan oil by the Russians but at a premium, the charge being \$34.43 per barrel instead of \$34.12 at which Greece buys Libyan oil direct from Libya. Finally, as regards natural petroleum gas to have been supplied from the USSR, the Soviet side is not refusing outright to supply but says the pipeline which goes to Bulgaria is already operating to capacity. Sales of Soviet electric energy to Greece are likely to be minimal.

Mr G. Rallis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, denied any hitch as agreed. He was supported in this statement by Mr Mitsotakis, Minister of Coordination, who said two days later that "there has been no change in these relations and whatever was agreed is being smoothly carried out."

However, he admitted that certain difficulties had arisen in these relations but dismissed them as of secondary importance. Nevertheless, Mr Mitsotakis is to meet Mr Novakovsky, Commercial Counsellor to the Soviet Embassy in Athens, tomorrow to review the overall course of Greek-Soviet economic relations within the framework of what was discussed and believed to have been agreed during Mr Karamanlis' October visit to Moscow.

CSO: 4920

REVISED MONEYMARTET LEGISLATION PREPARED

Athens HELLENEWS EXPRESS in English 6 Mar 80 p 4

[Text] Revised moneymarket legislation is being prepared by competent Government quarters which have already submitted a memo to the Ministry of Coordination. Accordingly, special financing institutions and not commercial banks would conduct long-term credit. Availabilities of such organizations would be strengthened by the issue of property bonds or by the accumulation of time-limit deposits through the Post Office Savings Fund. The plan would permit housing credit to be exercised by agencies other than the National Mortgage Bank as well. Likewise, other agencies would be allowed to partake in financing agriculture, hereto a monopoly of the Agricultural Bank. It is pointed out that, once a problem of subsidies arises for such things as special housing programmes or industrial development, the subsidies should come out of public funds or public institutions such as the Workers Housing Institution.

Development loans of special credit institutions should have financing possibilities from funds held by the Post Office Savings Fund by means of rediscounting development bank portfolios. Development projects of national importance, which do not satisfy strictly banking criteria could be financed by such organizations as the Hellenic Industrial Development Bank, themselves refinanced in due course out of public funds. A basic prerequisite would be clear segregation of these development activities from the remaining activities of the special financing agency. Under such circumstances, the Agricultural Bank, after full Greek accession to the EEC, would no longer keep its monopoly of agricultural credit, as stated above, nor would it retain its present right to subsidize interest on agricultural loans. Subsidies may continue but at the expense of the National Budget. Under the new moneymarket system, if the Agricultural Bank continues as a commercial bank and as a special credit institution, it will have to separate its activities clearly, at least in its accounting system.

CSO: 4920

BRIEFS

NEW PETROLEUM LEGISLATION--The minister of Industry & Energy is preparing a Bill for Parliament which will revise on a major scale existing Greek Law concerning petroleum. Many of the proposed changes are understood to aim at bringing Greek Law on this subject into line with what now applies in the E.E.C. Among other things, the existing contract between the State and the State-owned company operating the State Oil Refinery at Aspropyrgos will have to be rewritten to enable the Government to pursue a more rational petroleum policy, not only with regard to the operation of its own oil refinery but, also, with regard to relations with privately owned oil refineries and the oil distributing companies. Mr Evert is doing his best in this Bill to concentrate in a single agency, controlled by his Ministry, all scattered authorities and services presently engaged in (and often overlapping or duplicating) procedures connected with the acquisition, movement, storage, refining, distribution and marketing of petroleum products. [Text] [Athens HELLENEWS EXPRESS in English 6 Mar 80 pp 4-5]

FISCAL BURDEN CHAIN EFFECT--The Government recently subjected to a 2.5% contribution in favour of the Farmers' Pension Fund (OGA), all meat and dairy products produced in Greece. The Ministry of Trade is now thinking of increasing the corrective tariff on imported meat and dairy products in order to equalize the handicap about which local stockbreeders and dairy farmers had begun to complain. Meanwhile, the Northern Greece Exporters' Association is in a turmoil because exports of Greek farm products have also been subjected to the 2.5% contribution which, they maintain, is a burden in excess of the export commission agent's entire fee and will render such Greek exports that much less competitive abroad. The Association referred the matter up to the E.E.C. Commission in Brussels whose reply has been received and says unequivocally that, special treatment of selected agencies who carry out the same line of business is wholly unacceptable because it creates illicit competition in the same line of products. The members of the E.E.C. will be burdened with a contribution exacted to form a grant favouring certain social groups in a country about to become a full E.E.C. member-State. It seems, after this categorical reply that, at least as regards exports of fresh fruit and vegetables, the 2.5% contribution in favour of OGA will be lifted. [Text] [Athens HELLENEWS EXPRESS in English 6 Mar 80 p 5]

NEW ROYALTIES PROCEDURE--There have been confusion and disputes in the past over royalties in this country. The Ministry of Industry & Energy has issued new rules on this subject. In future, any Greek firm wishing to acquire foreign patent rights, technology, etc., will have to submit to the Ministry a draft of its proposed agreement with the foreign firm. When, and if this is approved, the two firms can engage in final negotiations, and, when they have agreed on the terms, the contract must be approved by the Ministry before final signature by the contracting parties. This procedure will also apply in cases where Greek public corporations, State-owned enterprises etc, acquire foreign patent rights or any other services for which a royalty is to be paid. In the past, Greek firms have found themselves occasionally exposed by meeting with refusal on the part of the competent authority to recognize undertakings they have assumed for the payment of royalties. [Text] [Athens HELLENEWS EXPRESS in English 6 Mar 80 p 5]

CSO: 4920

BRIEFS

BERLINGUER CONGRATULATES CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania: On the occasion of your reelection as president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, please accept, on behalf of the Italian communists and on my own behalf, congratulations and wishes for success in your work for the progress of the Romanian people, for detente in the relations between peoples and states, and for the cause of international peace. [Signed] Enrico Berlinguer. [Text] [AU011848 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Mar 80 p 7 AU]

CSO: 2700

LABOR PARTY, LO MEET TO RESOLVE DISPUTE

Nordli: Open Up Both

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 21 Feb 80 p 6

[Interview with Prime Minister Odvar Nordli by Thor Viksveen]

[Text] On Tuesday ARBEIDERBLADET began a series of articles and interviews on the Labor Party and the 1980's with the intention of focusing in particular on the recruitment basis of the labor movement and its relations with new occupational groups. Today, as part of that series, we bring an interview with Prime Minister Odvar Nordli.

[Question] A debate has been going on for some time concerning the recruitment basis of the labor movement. This became more intense with the appointment of Per Vassbotn as undersecretary. Has our society become so complicated that it is no longer enough to resort to the traditional recruiting methods for filling positions of trust in which hard work in the movement's own organizations serves as the point of departure? Will it be increasingly necessary to draw in people who have a more peripheral relationship to everyday party activity?

[Answer] No, I don't think so. There is nothing to indicate at this point in time that we should choose another basis for recruitment than the traditional one. For example if we look at the present government and the political apparatus at its disposal one can easily see that traditional recruitment methods have served as a basis. We have a similar situation in the union movement.

However, from time to time we will be faced with special tasks requiring the use of people with broad areas of expertise. These people have not always chosen the traditional route. In such cases the most important thing is that they stand on the same foundation as the labor movement. Recruiting has occurred on that basis in the past and it will

occur on that basis in the future as well. This is not an either/or matter; recruiting can occur both ways.

But when we look at this issue in isolation and not in connection with other things we must admit that the labor movement needs much more breadth in its circle of contacts. In this country there are many people who are attracted to the Labor Party but who are not accepted, whether rightly or wrongly, as belonging to the movement. The need for a broader circle of contacts is so central that I do not hesitate to say that the position of the labor movement in the future will depend on our ability to solve this problem. As a party we must meet these new groups and invite them to join us in forming the policies we will be pursuing in the future.

[Question] What factors are the main reasons for the failure of the Labor Party to gain ground with the so-called new voter groups?

[Answer] We are unable to convince them by our form of activity, by our organizational forms or by our manner of presenting our policy that we are a movement in which they can feel at home. We have been unable to present a wellrounded picture of the vast breadth and scope of the labor movement. Too many people regard us as a closed and perhaps somewhat narrow group. Many feel there is too little political tolerance here. I am not saying whether all this is justified or not, but the problem is definitely there.

[Question] What strategy should the labor movement adopt with regard to people who are not organized in the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions [LO]? Support for unions outside LO is increasingly strong. One can get the impression that part of the labor movement has a hostile attitude toward union groups that are not affiliated with LO.

[Answer] The union movement has the same problems in relation to the new groups as the party. We must accept the fact that in our organizational community there is a competitive relationship between unions inside and outside LO. In this kind of competition LO must have a clear union and political identity.

[Question] In other words the answer to this challenge is not a loosening of the bonds between the union and the political labor movements.

[Answer] No, it is not. The union and political labor movements face common tasks. The entire movement must work out a strategy on a mutual basis that will have greater appeal among the new groups.

[Question] More and more attention is being given to the new groups. But in this debate we must not forget the traditional industrial labor groups. Even though they are declining in number aren't industrial workers still vital to the nation's economy?

[Answer] Part of the problem in the current debate on these matters is the impression that we are confronting an either/or choice. That is not the case at all. We must avoid pitting occupational groups against each other and in our work we must direct our attention at all occupational categories.

[Question] Did you regard the reaction to the Vassbotn appointment as an expression of differing views among various segments of the labor movement with regard to the strategy to be chosen in dealing with the new groups in the future?

[Answer] It is probably an oversimplification to put it like that. I have never viewed this matter as an indicator of the way we should deal with new groups. The main issue was to find a satisfactory solution in the information sector. Otherwise I would like to say that I have received as many positive as negative reactions.

But in general I would like to repeat that we must be more open to groups without a traditional place in the labor movement. The Labor Party, which has the ambitious goal of attracting more than 40 percent of the nation's voters, must guard itself carefully against becoming too narrow politically. This kind of broad support can be gained only if we accept a broad span of ideas and attitudes, Prime Minister Nordli concluded.

Confusion in Labor Movement

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Feb 80 p 3

[Article by Lennart Hovland]

[Text] The Norwegian labor movement can make a comeback with increased impact if it finds a viable solution to its fundamental problems: today none of its leading deputies seems willing or able to provide the necessary leadership. The response of the Labor Party to the questions of the 1980's is simply old, worn-out and nonprogressive. Even so the many meetings in February can be a step forward--at least they can provide a basis for moving ahead. But unrest, discontent and confusion will show up again immediately if this foundation is not implemented with deliberate firmness in the future.

The labor movement is creaking at its joints and in the first months of the year its members have experienced the second big shock in a row after the election last fall. Monday is the day for the last and perhaps most important of the February meetings, namely the joint meeting between party-parliamentary group-government and the labor movement.

The central committee of the party outlined the division between the roles to be played by various elements in the movement. The government has an area of responsibility extending far beyond the union movement according to a statement made by the central committee and against that background there is understanding for government policy in the movement--including union support. The committee praised the union movement for living up to its responsibility in these difficult times. And early this week came the national committee's declaration of confidence in party leadership and a call to all party members to concentrate on winning the 1981 election.

Then the question is whether these statements can lead cooperation between the party and government on the one hand and the union movement on the other into more constructive channels and whether they can lead to the necessary calm and unification in meeting future challenges. The national committee openly admitted that there have been "initial signs of internal conflicts" and the chairman of the Labor Party, Reiulf Steen, characterized these signs as serious. The tone and feeling of the disputes have been quite different from those in the past.

Many doubt whether the February meetings are worth the effort. To be sure it helps to talk openly but will the leaders be able to inspire enough confidence in the labor movement in the months ahead? In the final analysis it all depends on the people responsible for carrying out the resolutions passed at the meetings. And one doesn't have to dig very far below the carefully preserved facade to find a seething mass of unsolved problems.

In relation to the union movement disagreement and discontent appear to be spreading--most recently expressed in LO's dissatisfaction with the government's approval of the so-called house associations in the North Sea--and in addition there is the question of how to make up for the lag in organizing workers in the trade sector and the question of dispensations to the ban on working on Sunday. LO chairman Tor Halvorsen has complained earlier that the union movement was left out of the picture in connection with changing the housing finance system and interest policies. And then there is the fact that the union movement felt left out in the last nomination process in the Labor Party prior to the election last fall.

Thus one aspect is factual disagreement. Both sides, the party and the government as well as the union movement, have agreed that this exists and that it is acceptable. This leaves communications which are far from being adequate. It is worth noting that the heart of the disputes is the income regulation law instead of the joint administration system.

It is up to the leaders in particular to clean up all the loose ends. They have to do this. If they don't there will be discontent among the rank and file and it might even increase in strength. There will be no

aggressive drive on the "grass-roots" level when everything in the movement looks unclear and diffuse.

And former LO chairman Tor Aspengren's empty seat on the party central committee acts as a constant reminder that things are not as they should be between the party and the union movement. But who is cleaning that up?

Recently the Alta expansion has become central once more. Strong forces in the labor movement feel that one should stand fast and get work started on the facility while others--also strong--want a postponement. As head of the government Prime Minister Odvar Nordli is sitting on the fence, getting crushed by both sides and acting more like a man trying to obscure the issue than one wishing to clear things up. Why doesn't he take the reins? Now he is just opening the door to all kinds of speculation and to other people who would like to be leaders and prophets. The result: confusion in the labor movement increases!

The importance of firm guidance was stressed in several speeches at the national committee meeting. Party secretary Ivar Leveraas said that the ability to provide firm guidance is the best trademark a political party can exhibit. This is a statement with special relevance for those in his own party.

Furthermore the movement is having trouble finding answers to what is called in a nutshell the challenge of the 1980's. If we compare the May Day speech given by the party chairman last year with his introductory speech to the national committee meeting in Tonsberg we can see that in a manner of speaking the movement hasn't budged in the meantime. Steen is still talking about identifying the problems and making studies--but he can't say why any "new groups" ought to choose the Labor Party rather than any other party. There are just old answers to new questions.

LO is not free from leadership problems either. Under Tor Halvorsen's leadership the latitude given individual unions seemed to go beyond the balancing line between central and decentralized control. Apparently Halvorsen does not have enough authority and prestige to keep the situation in hand, even with the help of the party and the government. This leads to the question: who really leads the union movement today? And this leads to even more problems of leadership.

Joint Meeting Held

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 26 Feb 80 p 3

[Text] The cooperation within the Norwegian labor movement should be better than it has been recently and in the future the government, the

Labor Party and LO will look more closely at ways to implement this. That is one of the conclusions from the joint meeting between the political and union arms of the labor movement which was held yesterday. In addition it was revealed that LO chairman Tor Halvorsen will meet his predecessor, Tor Aspengren, today to ask him to return to the party's central committee.

The joint meeting was attended by the cabinet, the LO secretariat, the central committee of the Labor Party and the steering committee of the party's parliamentary group. In a statement approved at the meeting they outlined political and union goals, noting that these tasks and challenges call for solidarity, capability and willingness to make an effort. The meeting declared that union-political cooperation is a vital nerve in the Norwegian labor movement and that:

"Union-political cooperation must be strengthened even more and developed further. It must be even more comprehensive and expand on all levels," according to the statement. When matters of special interest to trade unions are under discussion it is important to have good contacts between political leaders in the various ministries and union leaders.

The joint meeting also outlined a process for shaping program and policy for the next 4-year period, stating that this should occur through a broad democratic process including open debate and differences of opinion. This is not a sign of weakness, the joint meeting conceded. Only through such discussions is it possible to formulate a unifying and offensive policy.

As the central committee did at the beginning of February the joint meeting yesterday issued a statement on the division of roles between the party and government on the one hand and the Federation of Trade Unions on the other:

"The joint meeting realizes that the government has a special responsibility to look at various measures in context and adjust them to the limits imposed by economic and political realities. On this basis there is broad agreement in the labor movement concerning the major lines of policy to be pursued in the future."

The controversial letter from Tor Aspengren, former LO chairman, to Labor Party chairman Reiulf Steen was not a topic of discussion at the joint meeting. This was stated at the press conference held after the meeting. Present at the conference were Prime Minister Odvar Nordli, party chairman Steen, LO chairman Tor Halvorsen and vice chairman of the parliamentary group Arvid Johanson.

However the LO secretariat unanimously voted to ask Aspengren to resume his position as a member of the central committee. Today Halvorsen will

relay this message to Aspengren and--of course--tell him about the meeting that was held yesterday. And then we'll see if that is enough to bring the old LO chief back into the party's leading body.

LO chairman Halvorsen also said that the secretariat had discussed the tasks in the labor movement in the time ahead and had decided unanimously to draw a line under the problems of the past and to unite in laying the foundation for future action.

It was admitted again at the press conference that there had been internal communications problems within the labor movement. Now we are entering a new period, Halvorsen said, making it natural to take a closer look at terms for union-political cooperation. This will be discussed in more detail by the existing cooperation committee linking government, party and union movement.

The parliamentary group committee expressed the confidence of the joint meeting in prominent people in the movement--especially, as member of parliament Johanson put it in view of the subjective attacks leading representatives have been exposed to in parts of the press.

One of the most important acknowledgements that emerged from the meeting is that LO is also a special interest organization even though it has much the same foundation as the rest of the labor movement. In a difficult economic period in which there are a succession of minority governments based on the Labor Party it is inevitable that from time to time disagreements will arise on individual issues, it was stated at the press conference. But Prime Minister Nordli placed considerable emphasis on the point that relations among various parts of the labor movement are not characterized by what divides them but on the contrary by the broad cooperation that has endured through the difficult times we have had. But he said that nothing needs constant renewal more than union-political cooperation.

Nordli Discusses Meeting

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 26 Feb 80 p 6

[Text] "I am convinced that union-political cooperation in the labor movement will be considerably stronger and more vital following the recent series of meetings," Prime Minister Odvar Nordli told ARBEIDERBLADET after yesterday's joint meeting.

Nordli stressed that these have been very useful meetings that laid a foundation for a further development of union-political cooperation.

The prime minister went on to say that due to press reports the public often received a distorted picture of the problems that have been discussed.

"The topic at the meetings has been how to work most effectively in the union-political sector. The problems have arisen in individual cases; they are not the result of disagreement over the mutual ideals and goals that have never been in dispute in the union and political labor movement. It seems to me that some instances where the government and the union movement have had differing opinions have been blown out of proportion. In view of the difficult economic situation in which we find ourselves there is nothing sensational in the fact that we differ in our evaluations of individual problems. Under these conditions the government is forced to initiate measures which the union movement must go along with. But today the union movement is so politically mature that it can live with the fact that even a Labor Party government has to take other things into consideration in a broader context. But this applies to individual matters. There is no question about the major lines and objectives."

What about the LO secretariat's request to Tor Aspengren to return to the party's central committee? Would he support that?

"I will not conduct a dialogue on this matter through the mass media. But with regard to my relations with Aspengren I can say as I have before that I have and will continue to have great respect for the contribution he has made to the labor movement."

Perhaps Party Is Appendage to LO

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 29 Feb 80 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] To put it bluntly it is absolute nonsense to say that LO is a political appendage to the Labor Party. The unions belonging to LO are free and independent. But from practical experience we can see that many issues can only be settled politically. In addition the union movement and the Labor Party are concerned with the same goal. Making society as good as possible for all people no matter who they are.

It was the chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions, Tor Halvorsen, who put it like that in an interview with ARBEIDERBLADET. He said it is just "talk" when "yellow unions" claim to be politically neutral. These unions also realize that political decisions are needed to solve their problems and achieve their objectives. In other words the federation does not occupy a special position. The widely-mentioned intimate

relationship with the Labor Party is of a purely platonic nature. There is nothing mystical or reprehensible about that. They stick together and they care about each other simply because both sides are working for the same goal, namely making society as good as possible for all people. Nobody else is interested in that. LO would be quite isolated and helpless in the world if it didn't have the Labor Party to hold hands with. But this has nothing to do with party politics. To speak of appendages is idiotic. Here no one is walking in front with the other following behind. They walk together and make life better and easier for everyone. That's all there is to it.

Well, probably not. The truth is that in Norway today it is hard at times to know which is the party and which is LO. Recent events have shown pretty clearly that LO has a somewhat different relationship to the Labor Party than the innocent one described by Tor Halvorsen. To say that LO has the same neutral relationship to the Labor Party as the "yellow unions" do to other parties is--to quote the LO chairman--utter nonsense. As we are told so often the party and LO together make up the labor movement. The party and the government can't do much without the approval of LO. If they "forget" to ask for the necessary approval there is trouble immediately. If an old LO giant bangs on the table the shock waves affect both the party and the government. Comradely negotiations are initiated right away. Crossed wires between the party and LO can result in major catastrophes. The least sound of discord from Tor Halvorsen and his colleagues is a warning that the day of judgment is at hand.

But the LO chairman is probably too modest to admit that he and his colleagues have that kind of influence. All they are doing is working for quick political solutions to problems. No one can fault them for that. LO is a large and important organization in our country. It has to be taken into account. It certainly can't be ignored. But the question is simply whether its influence hasn't been a little too great at times. For instance in relation to the present government. But perhaps it would be more correct to say that it is the Labor Party that is an appendage of LO.

Party May Disintegrate

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 1 Mar 80 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] We don't doubt that the political and union labor movement, represented by the current government, the Labor Party and LO, will be able to establish a pattern of cooperation capable--at least in theory--of solving most of the urgent recent problems in contact and communications. Even though judging solely by the statements issued by the three series of meetings at the top party level one might get the impression that

these problems exist only in the reports in the mass media. The Labor Party stands united and strong--let's make that perfectly clear, the factions involved stressed. Again a foundation has been laid for a new offensive aimed at unifying all forces for the decisive test of strength in the parliamentary election a year and a half from now.

But even though they have managed to create an external impression of calm and tolerance and even though they agree in principle that political and union challenges require solidarity and cooperation the picture of today's labor movement is much less black-and-white than it used to be. Just recall that it was only a few weeks ago that Tor Aspengren wrote to Reiulf Steen, making it clear with the stroke of his hammer that he could not sit face to face with political leaders devoid of both political balance and political vision. The shock waves set off by Aspengren's letter may have died down but the problems mentioned by the former LO chairman are still there since they primarily concern people still remaining in the same posts.

In the recent crisis meetings--first the Labor Party's central committee, then the national committee and most recently a joint meeting of the central committee, the government, the LO secretariat and the steering committee of the Labor Party's parliamentary group--a great deal has been said about contact problems and working forms. The LO chairman in particular has made it clear that a change for the better must occur here. We assume that the unanimous statement issued by Monday's joint meeting is wholly satisfactory, especially from LO's point of view. This went so far in the direction of instituting a system of consultations between the political leaders of ministries and the union leadership that one is even more justified than in the past in asking whether it is LO and not the government that is ruling the nation.

It is true that the joint meeting conceded that the government has a special responsibility for looking at various measures in context and adjusting them to the limits imposed by economic and political realities. But it is in the nature of things that we find the heart of this problem in the tense conflict relationship between a responsible government and a nationwide special interest organization. Solving these problems requires more than an improvement in daily contacts. More than anything else it calls for exerting firm leadership in the interaction between the government and LO--not just on the part of the head of the government but on the part of the LO chairman as well. Many people have tended to overlook this point in the heated debate on personalities and their lack of leadership.

But regardless of the cooperative arrangements they decide on it should have been realized long ago that such extensive problems of wear and tear have arisen for the Labor Party, LO and the current minority government that uncontrolled political explosions could occur at any time. In this kind of situation one expects the prime minister to take command, to act decisively. But the question is whether the party isn't worn out and ripe for replacement. If not before something should be done about this in 1981 at least. The voters themselves can take care of it.

BLANQUI TEXEIRA COMMENTS ON PCP'S RECRUITMENT DRIVE

LD310907 Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 20 Mar 80 pp 6-7 LD

[Unattributed interview with Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) Political Commission member Blanqui Teixeira: "10,000 New Members"]

[Text] The recruitment of the 10,000 new members is progressing. Ever since the PCP Central Committee decided to recruit 10,000 new members to the party and the various organizations throughout the country set their targets, the communist ranks have been swelling every day with the influx of many workers, men, women and young people who choose the path of PCP membership for defending democracy and the April gains within a party which is their most steadfast defender.

We interviewed PCP Political Commission member and Central Committee Secretariat member Blanqui Teixeira about the recruitment campaign.

[Question] How is the campaign progressing? Has the target of recruiting 10,000 members to the party met with adequate commitment in the organizations?

[Answer] In general, the information reaching us from the various organizations shows that there is a great commitment to recruiting new members.

One indication of this commitment is the fact that by the end of February we reached almost 50 percent of the figure set by the Central Committee.

This does not mean that some organizations are not lagging behind somewhat, but naturally once they have overcome this lag recruitment will grow there too.

The information we have received indicates that recruitment this month will be higher than in the first 2 months of the year.

[Question] It has been stated--not only at the congress, but also in documents assessing the organizational record--that the party must strive toward increasing the percentage of women, young people and small and

medium farmers, who are less well represented than other sectors. Have positive results been achieved in this direction in this recruitment campaign?

[Answer] Something can already be said about how recruitment has progressed to the end of February.

These guidelines, which have been followed and implemented in this campaign, have indeed been reflected in practice. The recruitment of women, young people and small and medium farmers is higher--and in some organizations, much higher--than their present average percentage in the party's composition.

Nevertheless, we will continue to stress these three targets. We require the party to have a percentage of women more consistent with their role in the country's economic, social and political life; we still need to strengthen the party's support among the youth sectors and we need to extend greatly our influence among the large number of small and medium farmers in the country.

[Question] From the outset the recruitment campaign was organized taking into account the party's support in each region. There are still difficult areas in the country. In general, how have efforts progressed in these areas?

[Answer] The various regional organizations have their own campaigns and it should be stressed that one of their aims is also to help overcome the great regional disparity which still exists in the party's support. The fact that a particular region is regarded as difficult has not constituted a reason for its target being a low one. It can be said that major objectives have been set in this regard.

Therefore in these areas the organizations are making a very great effort to overcome the weaknesses which still exist and to expand the party organization in districts where it is still on a very small scale.

There can be no doubt that after the recruitment campaign a further step will have been taken toward eliminating the regional imbalances which exist with regard to the party organization.

[Question] The increase in membership must not be divorced from a reorganization of the bodies, so that their functioning will improve as their strength grows. Can it be said at present that the reorganization is proceeding satisfactorily?

[Answer] What can be said now is that at the same time as the recruitment campaigns are being conducted--and this is a very intensive task--campaigns to reorganize the party are also being conducted. It is very necessary for every new party member to be organized rapidly and to become a member of a

party organization and for this party organization to be sufficiently well structured for the new member, like any other member, to be able to participate actively in the activity of the organization to which he belongs.

The establishment of the new municipal committees and parish committees and other intermediate bodies, as well as the creation of new cells in the enterprises and other grass roots organizations, is taking place throughout the party organization.

In order to move toward improved organization it is essential that a great deal of work be done on training and recruiting cadres.

[Question] The party is mobilized in intensive activity on several struggle fronts. Will new members find in the organizations the conditions for the feelings which made them join the communist ranks to develop and become translated into revolutionary activity?

[Answer] At present, at the same time as a great overall effort is being made both with regard to organization and with regard to expanding the party, all the organizations are debating the present political situation and taking decisions in defense of the interests of the workers masses and the other working sectors against the present government's reactionary policy. Therefore the party's work on reorganization is important, so that the new recruits can be integrated into the party's overall activity, make their contribution, help the development of the entire activity that is going on and, at the same time, be helped to develop better and better as Communist Party members.

CSO: 3101

PCP'S CUNHAL ON VISIT TO SYRIA, LEBANON

LD310933 Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 20 Mar 80 p 2 LD

[Unattributed report: "Alvaro Cunhal Visits Syria and Lebanon"]

[Text] A Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] delegation led by Comrade Alvaro Cunhal has visited the Syrian Arab Republic, where it was received by Hafiz al-Asad, president of the republic and secretary general of the Syrian Ba'th Party.

The PCP delegation, which includes Central Committee member and Foreign Section Chief Comrade Albano Nunes, also had a meeting with 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, member of the Ba'th Party national leadership and Syrian foreign minister, and had talks with a Syrian Ba'th Party delegation led by national leadership member and Foreign Relations Chief Fa'wwaz Sayigh.

During the conversations the Syrian Ba'th Party and the PCP signed a joint communique and a cooperation agreement.

Following its visit to Syria the PCP delegation travelled to Lebanon, where it had talks with the PLO and the Lebanese Communist Party.

Remarks by Alvaro Cunhal

The visit to Syria lies within the framework of the good relations which we have long had with the Syrian Ba'th Party, which was represented at our party's congress and which has already invited PCP delegations to visit Syria more than once, Comrade Alvaro Cunhal told us last Friday morning on the PCP delegation's departure.

This visit, the PCP secretary general continued, was planned a long time ago and has been postponed several times. This date was set without any relation to the domestic situation in either country. Therefore, the time when the visit is taking place is of no significance.

PCP Central Committee Secretariat member Comrade Jorge Araujo and Central Committee member Comrade Adelino Pereira da Silva saw the PCP delegation off from Lisbon airport.

BRIEFS

DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS--FRG President Karl Carstens has received [Portuguese] Ambassador Paulo Enes, who presented to him his credentials. In addition, the Icelandic Government has given its assent to new Portuguese ambassador in Reykjavik Antonio Cabrita Matias, who has also been appointed as resident ambassador in Islo. Cabrita Matias replaces Fernando Reino, who will take up the duties of chief of the president of the republic's civil household. [Text] [LD281411 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 21 Mar 80 p 2 LD]

CSO: 3101

BRIEFS

GRAIN SILO CONSTRUCTION--The Mediterranean News Agency (AKAJANS) reports that 37 silos, having a storage capacity of 910,000 tons, shall be constructed at various sites around the country in an effort to alleviate the grain storage squeeze and the "loading bottleneck" that confronts exports. The cost of the 37 silos has been pegged at 206 million dollars; roughly 14.5 billion TL. According to AKAJANS sources, nearly 85 million dollars of this total shall be met through foreign financing by the World Bank. Of the 37 silos, which are to be built in Istanbul, Dibakir, Iskenderun, Ankara, Konya, Izmir, Afyan, Tekirdag and Erzurum, twenty eight are of the 20,000 ton capacity variety, while one will have a capacity of 30,000 tons, six a capacity of 40,000 tons and one a capacity of 60,000 tons. The 60,000 ton capacity silo is to be built at Catalca. Three of the six 40,000 ton silos that are to be built in Izmir Iskenderun and Tekirdag will be port silos. [Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 10 Mar 80 p 5]

GOVERNMENT'S CAPITALISTIC POLICY CRITICIZED--RPP Deputy General Secretary Metin Somuncu has said that the government is bowing to the IMF's every demand and dragging the country into a doubtful adventure by collaborating with the exploiters and oppressors of the people. In a statement he issued in Ankara today, Somuncu claimed that the South American exploitation plan is being implemented in the country and that the workers and the people are being economically and politically pressured. He said that there are attempts to insure the sovereignty of fascism--the most ruthless and barbaric system of capitalism. Expressing the view that the Echelle-Mobile system is aimed at suspending syndical rights, Somuncu continued: The attacks against the RPP, which will foil all these games and traps, are increasing daily. The extreme rightist terror organizations, which are protected by the government, are murdering members of the RPP and damaging their shops and houses. [Text] [TA031802 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1600 GMT 3 Apr 80 TA]

SELECTIVE LIST OF JPRS SERIAL REPORTS

WESTERN EUROPE SERIAL REPORTS

WEST EUROPE REPORT

WEST EUROPE REPORT: Science and Technology

WORLDWIDE SERIAL REPORTS

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Environmental Quality

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Epidemiology

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Law of the Sea

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Nuclear Development and Proliferation

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Telecommunications Policy, Research and Development

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

24 APRIL 80

RMB

